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PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
SEVENTH CONFERENCE FOR  
EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH







PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE  
FOR  
Education in the South

THE SEVENTH SESSION

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BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

APRIL 26TH TO APRIL 28TH  
1904

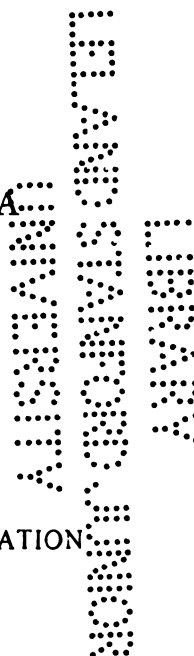
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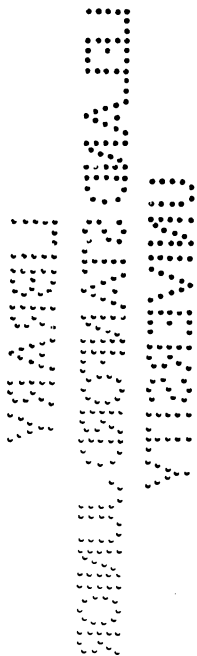
ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

ROOM 1805, No. 54 WILLIAM STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

1904

C.





## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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The unavoidable delay in securing some of the more important manuscripts has delayed the publication of this volume. It is hoped that the Report will prove, however, an adequate record of one of the most interesting and most valuable sessions of the Conference for Education in the South.

As the editor of the Report was prevented, by illness, from attending the session, it is not unlikely that errors will be noted. Its publication has been possible only by reason of the kindly cooperation of Dr. Wallace Buttrick and Dr. George S. Dickerman; and the editor takes this opportunity to express his sincere appreciation of their courtesies.

It should be remembered, however, that the Report of the Conference has been made possible not by editors or speakers, but by those who builded the Conference itself. Among these, acknowledgement should be made to the people of the City of Birmingham—especially to Dr. J. H. Phillips, Superintendent of Schools. To his untiring and patriotic interest, to his wise foresight and signal executive capacity, it is largely due that the Seventh Conference for Education in the South attained high and honorable rank among American educational gatherings.

E. G. M.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA,  
December 3, A. D. 1904.





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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**Seventh Session of the Conference  
for Education in the South**

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OPENING SESSION

THE JEFFERSON THEATRE, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,  
TUESDAY, 8 P. M., April 26, 1904.

The Conference for Education in the South was called to order in the Jefferson Theatre at 8 P. M. by the President, Mr. Robert C. Ogden of New York City.

The address of welcome was delivered by the Hon. T. G. Bush of the city of Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Bush spoke as follows:

T. G. BUSH.

Birmingham and the State of Alabama are to be felicitated on this gathering within their limits of so many men of various callings from all sections of the country, prominent in their respective fields of labor, many of whom enjoy an enviable national reputation. The people of Birmingham have waited with pleasurable expectation your coming, and feel that your presence and deliberations will be helpful and inspiring. Upon this occasion, when Spring is upon us in all its emerald beauty, when there is resurrection of life in the material world, it is fitting that we should be filled with fresh and vigorous thoughts on subjects that concern the welfare of mankind, and receive new life and inspiration in such a noble work.

The object of this meeting is well known in this community

and throughout the country. One of its chief characteristics is that it is composed of men and women of culture, of wide experience, broad views devoid of selfishness, and hearts beating with sympathy for the needs of their fellowmen. Whether we be Northerners, Easterners, Southerners, or Westerners, and however much we may differ on some subjects by reason of difference of environment, customs and education, we can all stand on one common ground on questions concerning the uplifting of people of all classes in morals and education. Bad morals and illiteracy are our common foes. It is fortunate for the well-being of the human race that where Christian religion and civilization prevail, the means for the development of the moral, mental and physical nature of man are being provided in an enlarged and broader way as time progresses. Never in the history of the race in the leading nations of the world has so much money been expended and so much time been given to the development of the people of all classes in these three important features—the trinity of man.

Christian men seem to have vied with each other in all sections of the country in providing means for the moral development of the people, and as the result of these efforts we see dotted over the land, in the valleys and on the hillsides, places of worship—modest though they may be in many sections—and in the great centers of population in the cities of our country, magnificent piles which have been erected and dedicated to Christian worship and the teaching of Christian religion. Along with these great provisions for bettering the nature of man there have been millions spent in great educational institutions, both religious and secular, and no less amount in proportion in homes for the sick and afflicted.

But in the last two decades probably the greatest response to the needs of the people has been found in provisions that have been made for the education of the masses, until we have arrived at the point where the great cry is that every man and woman, and every child of school age in the land, should receive some form of education, and as far as possible be fitted for the field of labor that lies before them. The great effort to educate the masses has taken form in what is known as the public school system. And while this system with its present methods as adopted by the States and communities of this country is comparatively new, yet the idea that education of the children should be provided for

by taxation to support schools free to all, was the fruit of the seed sown by the early colonists in this country when they began to realize the importance of self-help and the need of an educated people.

From the time when the little school in Dorchester, Mass., in 1635, was organized to be supported by taxation on certain designated property, the idea of public schools supported by taxation began to expand and develop. Very soon the spirit was caught by other communities in Massachusetts, and little by little it has grown as our population has increased until we find in the present day and generation a system that is the marvel of the world and the very foundation and bulwark of our great republican government.

Along the line of march of this educational movement great men here and there have encouraged it and given new inspiration, and from the days of Benjamin Franklin, whose influence was so great for American education, more and more attention and aid have been given to this important work, this illustrious man having been the originator of public libraries in establishing the first library, known as the Junto, at Philadelphia. He recognized the power of the printed page and inaugurated a scheme for the instruction of children at a time when the ability to read and write was not common in the colonies. Franklin did not go so far as John Adams in providing schools for the masses, supported by taxation. Franklin encouraged educational and intellectual development and lent his influence in that direction. Adams, however, was very pronounced for general education, and wrote in 1775:

"The whole people must take upon themselves the education of the whole people, and must be willing to bear the expense of it. There should not be a district a mile square without a school in it—not founded by a charitable individual, but maintained at the expense of the people themselves."

Thus we will see that the education of the masses becomes a care and duty of the state. It will not do in this time and generation to depend upon self-education. We find some splendid specimens of self-education in the lives of men like Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln, Robert Fulton, Thomas A. Edison and others, but conventional education is the safest, as against the plan of self-education. Dr. J. L. M. Curry said, in an address on education:



"Let me affirm with emphasis, as an educator, as a patriot, as an American, that on universal education, or free schools, depends the prosperity of the country and the safety and perpetuity of the Republic."

These views are against the idea that individual donations must be relied upon. We have varied instances of generous, broad-minded men, who have been favored with wealth, giving in a most potential way to the establishment of great educational institutions. These have been conspicuous in the past, but that class is becoming more impressed now with the fact that they hold their great wealth in trust and many of them are willing to use it for the good of their fellow men. We have just been reminded since Andrew Carnegie began to seriously consider the question of using his great wealth for the help of others that he has spent so far \$100,000,000. Prominent rich men like John D. Rockefeller and others have given and are still giving their millions for educational purposes, showing they realize that the best development of our people must come along educational lines. This kind of help is necessary for establishing and sustaining great educational institutions.

It is not my purpose to discuss this important subject other than to refer to the great stride which has been made in the education of the children of this country in the last two decades. It is interesting, however, to note that as shown by the school statistics of the United States, in 1902 there were enrolled 16,000,000 of pupils as against 6,800,000 in 1870. The percentage of persons five to eighteen years of age enrolled was 71.54 per cent in 1902 as against 57 per cent in 1870.

It is particularly noticeable that the attendance during the session of the schools has risen from 4,000,000 in 1870 to 11,000,000 in 1902. A great increase has been noted in the length of the school term. In 1870 the average term of all schools was 132 days; for the year 1902, 145 days. It will also be noticed from the statistics that twenty-two years ago the percentage of male teachers was 43 per cent, while the past year it had fallen below 28 per cent. Those who know something of the influence of woman in the formative period of a child's character will not feel that the country has gone backward in this change.

But I would more particularly refer to the development in the South as to conditions which have attended education as pro-

vided in the public schools of the Southern states and the wonderful progress which has been made in the efforts of our people to reduce the percentage of illiteracy. It is hardly necessary to refer to the time when interest first began to develop in connection with the public schools in the South, more than to say that the impoverished condition of the Southern people following the Civil War prevented for a time the Southern states and communities thinking of anything other than to gather themselves together for the heroic struggle which they faced, as they contemplated the fact that life must be begun over again under the most distressing conditions of poverty. The South has not always been behind in matters of education, barring the establishment of public schools. Dr. J. L. M. Curry in speaking upon the topic "Education in the South Before the Civil War," said:

"In proportion to the population, taking man for man, negroes excluded from the population, the South sustained a larger number of colleges with more professors and more students at a greater annual cost than was done in any other section of the Union. The same was true of its academies and private schools. In the matter of public schools sustained by taxation and free to all who choose to attend, the South was far behind the North in the provision for universal education. No plans adequate for universal education existed."

He further states in his address: "When the Confederate soldier furled his flag at Appomattox there was not a Southern state that had its system of public schools, but now in organic law and in statutes universal education is recognized as a paramount duty. The newspaper press gives effective and intelligent support; party platforms incorporate public schools in the political creeds; state revenues are appropriated; local communities levy taxes; and scarcely a murmur of dissent is heard in opposition to the doctrine that free government must stand or fall with free schools."

It must be remembered that these words were spoken twenty-three years ago—when I suppose that Dr. Curry, with his optimistic views as to the provisions that would be made for the education of our people, could hardly have believed that such strides would be made as have been witnessed in the last decade.

You will probably on this occasion be more interested in the changes which have taken place for the past two decades in the Southern states.

The enrollment of pupils of all ages in the public schools increased from the year 1879 to 1902 nearly 300 per cent. Alabama, for instance, in the year 1870 had 141,312 enrolled; in the year 1902, 365,171; and there was a corresponding increase in the amounts expended for public schools. Alabama in 1870 expended \$370,000, and in 1902, \$1,057,905. It is quite interesting also to note that there has been a marked decrease in the percentage of male illiterates in the Southern states since 1880. For instance, in Alabama the percentage has been reduced from 49 per cent. to 32 per cent.; Tennessee, 36 per cent. to 20 per cent.; Georgia, 48 per cent. to 29 per cent.; North Carolina, from 46 per cent. to 27 per cent.

As an evidence of the increasing ability of the Southern states to better care for the uneducated, I call attention to the assessment of property in this state, which increased from 1880 to 1903, 120 per cent. We have reason to believe that the South has just entered upon its industrial development, and that very great improvement will be made in the agricultural interests. You have but to note that in the year 1880 there were only 584,000 cotton mill spindles in the South; now we have 6,900,000. If you could have visited this section of Alabama thirty years ago, you would have seen a sparsely settled country, apparently devoid of any prospects for the future, as against this marvelous, vigorous city of but a few years' growth, with the wonderful mineral development surrounding it.

We realize fully that with better education we will see the development of better citizenship, a higher conception of civic duties, a better understanding of the needs of the state, and power to discriminate as to character and capacity of men seeking office. An educated electorate is what every state needs and must have. Education gives us a higher conception of the rights of others, and thus a better understanding between employers and employees.

The legislature of Alabama has taken cognizance of the condition of child labor and has placed some restrictions on the employers that will be helpful to that class of labor. There is yet more to be done in that line. This legislation means better educational advantages for that class of labor.

We hope through your presence and encouragement to be stimulated to greater exertions in self-help. That is the great object to be obtained in perfecting and enlarging our school system.

We care but little for outside aid beyond good wishes, kind suggestions and words of encouragement. Any kind of pecuniary aid that would lessen our determination to see to it that ultimately all children of school age should read and write, and be aided to further advantages that would best fit them for their respective fields of labor, would be hurtful.

The present constitution of this State permits local taxation for school purposes, and I believe the sentiment is being built up to that end. Direct aid by appropriations from the United States treasury would, I fear, be harmful, and sooner or later would interfere with the splendid systems that prevail in the different states. Valuable aid in the way of donation of lands to the states has been given in the past, and I think would be helpful in the future to the extent of the government's resources in its ownership of lands within the different states.

It may be that the people of Birmingham are charged with being materialists by those who are only familiar with our city and district in a general way. The fact that from a housetop in the city smoke can be seen ascending from twenty-four furnace stacks, and the existence of sixty-one coal mines with numerous ore mines near these furnaces, all within the limits of this county, to say nothing of the steel and rolling mills and various manufacturing plants, would make it seem that the minds of our people are fixed most upon business enterprises. But when you come to know something of the public schools, with their splendid systems, and the hospitals for the care of the sick and helpless, the churches, and other philanthropic institutions, you will conclude that they are indications that Birmingham people have a mind and heart for other things than the accumulation of money. We have cheerfully opened the gates of our city and the doors of our homes to our distinguished friends and visitors in order that we may know them better and love them more. The city is yours. I think we will find that in the bosom of the citizens of the New England states, the Middle states, or the Western states, the same kind of heart beats that goes out from those who live under the Southern sun.

I had as well tell you a secret, as you will evidently find it out before you leave the city. When you see the women of our city and community, and know all their noble charitable works, their culture, their graciousness, and their sweet hospitality—you will be ours.

Following Mr. Bush's address of welcome, Mr. Robert C. Ogden delivered the annual address of the president of the Conference. Mr. Ogden said:

ROBERT C. OGDEN.

This is the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South. The small numbers at the three earlier convocations and the intimate social conditions of meeting made explanatory opening statements superfluous. The three later conferences have assembled under completely changed circumstances and each with its own special conditions. The wide-lying distances between the places of annual meeting, the greatly enlarged audiences, the varying personnel, the deepening interest, the national repute and widening influence of the Conference, have combined to make some account of its history and explanation of its character necessary for the information of each assembly that greets it with the welcome and hospitality of a new locality.

It was not my privilege to be an original member of this Conference for Education in the South, but in its second year I enlisted in the service more through personal loyalty to Drs. Curry and Frissell than because of any clear conception of its purpose. Examination of the printed records of the Conference reveals the spirit in which it was created and the fidelity with which its vital essence has been preserved.

Organized altruism must incarnate an ideal. Without spiritual life a fraternity becomes decadent. Therefore to assist us in the duty of continuing unimpaired the essence of this Conference it is well to recite some brief sentences from the expressions of faith and experience recorded by its former assemblies.

At the first meeting in July, 1898, the Conference made the following assertion by resolution: "Upon the principle that if one member of our Union of states suffers all the members suffer with it, the duty of the whole country to foster education in every part is manifest." In June 1899, the Conference recorded the opinion: "That the education of the white race in the South is the pressing and imperative need, and the noted achievements of the Southern commonwealths in the creation of the common school systems for both races deserve . . . the sympathetic recognition of the country and of the world at large." In April, 1901, the Conference

"reaffirmed its conviction that the overshadowing and supreme public need of our time as we pass the threshold of a new century is the education of the children of all the people. We declare such education to be the foremost task of our statesmanship and the most worthy object of philanthropy." In April, 1902, the declarations of the Conference opened with the words: "The unending campaign that this Conference met to further is a campaign not only for the free education of all the people, but for free education of such efficiency as shall make the coming generation of citizens of the Southern states the best trained men and women that an enlightened democracy can produce."

Each of these statements rings true to its predecessor; each is a link in a chain that, as it lengthens, not only retains all its original strength of principle, but creates a broadening environment of influence. This influence finds expression in several forms.

The Southern Education Board, the eldest child of the Conference, is now in the third year of continuous and earnest activity. It appeals by many methods to the people and educational authorities of the various states for an improvement of all conditions of public instruction—an organized propaganda, inspired by a zeal for the uplifting of the whole people physically, mentally, spiritually, through the beneficent power of education.

Associated with the Southern Board through a community of membership is the General Education Board, only a few months younger. From the office of this Board a constant investigation of local and state conditions, of institutions of every class, is going forward. It is already quite important to every worthy institution seeking private aid to be registered in the office of the General Education Board. Increasingly as the public understands the intelligence and justice that mark all its statements is the value of its endorsement prized by both donors and recipients. The Board has a national charter under which to administer such funds as may come to it for distribution.

These two boards are unique in character, original in forms of organization, peculiar in both the necessary division of responsibility and the unity of the work to be done. At some points each is vital to the other, and again each has responsibility that the other could not discharge.

Many in this audience have some information concerning these

boards, their personnel and their aims. Familiarity with their interior detail is essential to a comprehension of their character and scope. Few have this knowledge. This is my apology for a somewhat lengthy reference to a subject upon which this Conference should be fully informed.

It is a misfortune that I am at once a member of both boards and a presiding officer of this Conference. I will cheerfully admit apparent indecorum in my allusions to the boards. But these allusions are demanded by imperative duty to the audience and also to the larger public who will follow the record of these proceedings. The entire country has a debt of obligation to the executive secretaries of these boards. Press and platform give their utterances to the people of this land, the results of careful study, upon topics that deeply concern the national welfare. The men in the boards hold opinions that sometimes are divergent—rightly so, for they often represent distinct geographical, professional and economic points of view, honest discussion of which leads to accurate conclusion. But these groups of men see eye to eye with a mutual confidence in aim and motive so strong that the tie that binds cannot be broken. Out of it all comes “unofficial statesmanship,” sound, constructive, patriotic, that also finds printed expression and vocal utterance.

And now the aim of this unorganic organization is reaching the third stage of evolution in the kindred or associated State organizations. Virginia has just created an educational commission, a similar movement is taking form in Alabama, and the process will naturally go on from state to state. A community of interest will prevail. The form of it doth not yet appear. The conference lives happily with its children, the boards, and such will continue the relation with its grandchildren, the local committees born of the boards.

The several agencies connected with this movement for better public education and the atmosphere created by them is producing a valuable literature that photographs conditions. It is sometimes unwelcome. Irritating facts appear. Forbidding statistics emerge. Shall we oppose strength to strength? Shall we accept or decline the issue presented? Shall we be overcome of evil or shall we overcome evil with good? The best inspirations of life are born of the stern command of duty. The golden age of peace and good-will,

consequent upon universal wisdom, is far away, but here and there in many places throughout this sparsely settled land, from the far away Appalachian hills, from factory towns, from rural townships, from firesides, fields and shops is coming the demand for larger knowledge. Thus like the ringing of silver bells at evening comes the hopeful harmony that shall make the yoke of service, aye, and the burden of effort, light as we help fellow-Americans to the liberty that is the child of knowledge.

While the Conference is exceedingly simple, its membership voluntary and unconditional, its policy broad and liberal, it should, because of its powerful influence, be considered very seriously. In a very actual sense it is a dynamo and storage battery, unseen but potent, imparting power to many official, institutional and individual agencies that working in sympathy and harmony are creating greater educational light with the people at large and generally improved educational conditions.

Quite appropriate it is to notice that this Conference is very strong because of its very slight constitutional basis, and extremely simple official life. Truly of it may be said, "the letter killeth but the spirit maketh alive." With no creed but that of social service, with no condition of fellowship save that "whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," with no small detail to distract from devotion to an object so evidently grand as to require no argument to any noble mind, its simplicity is wisdom, its weakness strength. While I make explanatory statements as to the rationale of the Conference, I make no argument for its right to exist. Such argument would but feed wilfully blind prejudice and thus would defeat itself.

The question is frequently asked, "Why should there be a Conference for Education in the South?" It is assumed that the absence of sectional educational organizations in the East, North or West implies that this one in the South is superfluous. It is an open question, not germane to our present purpose, whether the country would not be helped by other conferences similar in character to this. Detailed discussion, past and to come, based upon ascertained and proven facts, indicates a very special and unique demand for this Conference.

Credit for the original suggestion that created the Conference belongs to a New England clergyman, the inspiration came from



the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference. The quick approval, cordial response and personal co-operation from many Southern statesmen, clergymen and educators is spontaneous evidence that the demand had a basis in fact.

The Right Reverend Thomas U. Dudley, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky, was the first president, and the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, of Alabama, was his successor. The Hon. William L. Wilson, president, and members of the faculty of Washington and Lee University, professors from the University of Virginia, representatives from various institutions for both races, principally in Virginia and North Carolina, with a few Northern friends, made up the earlier membership. The executive work needed for the creation of the Conference was performed by Dr. Frissell, but it is quite likely that its survival of the Capon Springs period was entirely due to the earnestness, frankness, comprehensive grasp of conditions, and masterful presentation of facts by Dr. Curry and President W. L. Wilson. A few of the hearers were so deeply impressed that when the crisis of changed conditions appeared it was resolved by certain persons that the Conference must live—and it has lived, without the aid of an incubator.

From these great leaders our earlier lessons were learned. They were men of plain speech. We would hardly dare follow in their train with descriptions of illiteracy, the limited facilities for popular education, the educational apathy of a large portion of the people, the small public resources and the consequent limitations upon the revenues for public schools. Equally frank were they in stating the causes of the conditions—slavery, the poverty resulting from the sacrifices of war, the disintegration consequent upon reconstruction measures which General Armstrong has epitomized as a "bridge of wood over a river of fire," the exacting demands of economic reorganization, the universal strain of labor for livelihood; the various questions presented by the presence of two races under peculiar conditions, strangely separated but curiously united in the same civilization.

The emphatic statements in the first convocations of conditions and causes lead clearly to the conclusion that this Conference for Education was called into existence by the needs of a situation peculiar to the South.

Dudley, Wilson and Curry no longer appear in the meetings of

the Conference. We reverently pronounce their names in a minor key as we take up the movement to the measured echo of their forward march. Our lines of inspiration run backward to these men. The vitality of their testimony inspires further investigation and the accumulation of facts develops a field so broad and a need so great that we may respectfully question whether they ever comprehended the immense proportions of the case now being so rapidly revealed.

The conditions of education in the South have furnished a field for interesting study to many educators. The discussions of this Conference and the administration of the two boards have evolved a spirit of investigation. Great service has been rendered not only by the secretaries and some members of the boards, but also by presidents and professors in the universities, by governors and educational executives in various states. The great original sources of information are the United States Census and the reports of the United States Bureau of Education. But the knowledge derived from these great storehouses of statistics is made luminous, popular and instructive, through the painstaking work of the aforesaid trained observers whose artistic faculties of analysis and combination transmute dry facts into living pictures, artists whose arithmetical pigments are wrought into compositions that touch the heart-strings of all who love the land we live in and the children who are the makers of future America.

The results of such study demonstrate again that this Conference for Education is a concrete response to an existing need of the South. But more than this—familiarity with the facts cannot fail to prove the right of the Conference to an ever-growing abundant life.

The claim that although this organization is adapted to the particular need of one section of the country, it yet should command the interest of good Americans throughout the land, is without doubt well founded. A sympathetic response may be expected just in proportion to an intelligent understanding of the conditions. Evidence of this appears in the opening passage of Dr. William De Witt Hyde's review of the educational progress of the year, presented at the annual convention of the National Educational Association at Boston last July. It reads:

"Throughout the South, under the wise guidance of the South-

ern Education Board, with the judicious aid of the General Education Board, and mainly through the heroic efforts of the Southern men and women themselves, a movement is going on which has all the enthusiasm, the diversified agencies, the massing of forces, the raising and expenditure of money, the distribution of literature, the organization of conferences, the utilization of the press, which mark a great political campaign. Out of this united effort are coming increased appropriations by the states, a great extension of local taxation, improved schoolhouses, consolidated schools, great free summer schools for teachers, improved courses, lengthened terms, higher salaries, better teaching, expert supervision. This is the most hopeful feature of the educational progress of the year; and at the meeting of the National Educational Association in New England, here in this city of the Puritans, it is an especial privilege to award the well-earned palm of greatest educational progress during the year to the splendid labors of our brothers and sisters of the South."

An explanation of the life of this Conference would be deficient and misleading if it failed to recognize that the Conference owes much of its continued growth and broadening influence to the sympathy and support of the higher institutions of learning. The great universities and some of the leading colleges of the North have been represented in the membership year by year, and the higher institutions of learning in the South have been constant and generous in their sympathetic aid. But the Conference is not merely an organization of educators. It is a popular body. Business men and professional men, public-spirited citizens, patriotic women, good people of various stations in life, attend the meetings in such numbers that no buildings used for the sessions in the several cities that have thus far made the Conference welcome have been equal to the audiences desiring to attend. It is thus far unique. Associations for the promotion of local public interest in education or in some special study are not rare. Great professional organizations exist, notably the National Educational Association, with its splendid executive equipment and truly national character. But it has remained for this Conference to command the direct interest of eleven states and sympathetic representation from as many more in a movement to influence the people, and especially the rural people, in the development of a larger interest in and intelligent demand

for improved popular education. This fact is so significant and important as to require especial attention and wide publication.

The ordinary citizen has a duty to perform in respect of public intelligence. Democracy is a social organization. Political liberty demands a solemn surrender to social service. No man rightly understands the truth of democracy until he recognizes its demand for the greatest nobility of self-sacrifice. True democracy is Christ-like; its essence is that of charity and love; it suffereth long, and is kind; envieth not; vaunteth not itself; seeketh not its own; is not easily provoked. It has been said, by whom I know not, that the greatest American failure is found in the lack of civic self-sacrifice, that the greatest American success is the development of certain individuals of the highest type, and the greatest American hope is that the body politic may rise even by the slow process of social evolution toward the ideals presented by these prominent individuals.

It is the duty of a conference to confer. This convocation will fall far short of its opportunity if the several representative groups of citizens here assembled fail to get a more accurate conception of mutual relations and responsibilities in respect of public education, and especially of rural public education, in the South. To be more direct, I would say to my brother men, men of my own group—business men, men in trade, manufacturing, transportation, finance—that we especially have lessons to learn at this Conference. As a rule we have not cared to be informed upon our civic duties. In more than one sense we have considered ignorance the synonym of bliss. To educators and educational officials we have been too much content to leave the whole question of public educational responsibility. Too apt we are to pay our taxes with reluctant tardiness after swearing down an appraised valuation, thus justifying the satire that in so doing we exercise the highest and most sacred right of citizenship.

The question often rises unbidden, "Why should I pay taxes for the education of other people's children?" The question suppressed begets degradation of spiritual life even though it hold the mirror of truth to personal meanness. The question *uttered* is *less* ignoble, for only error born of ignorance would inspire expression to the thought. Perversity is more blameworthy than ignorance. How true the epigram coined by one of our number, "Ignorance

cures nothing." Whatever the cause, brutality or vacancy, for opposition to taxation for education the result is the same—intellectual race suicide.

The proposition seems clear and accurate that the one supreme and special end to be secured here is the sympathetic accord of the citizen, the educator and the official. The place is appropriate. Business is pregnant in this city of Birmingham, that proudly echoes back across the sea the name of an adopted parent, both proclaiming throughout the world the triumphs of brain and brawn, of progress and prosperity; Birmingham the antiphon of Pittsburg, the great industrial center of the New South, the municipality that in two decades has placed Alabama second only to Pennsylvania in the production of iron. The vicinage reminds us that commerce is the servant of education and civilization. Fitting, then, the time and place in which to recognize the dictum of the highest educational authority in this country that business is to be numbered with the professions, and that the distinction is not merely a graceful courtesy. It is the recognition of a condition that pervades all education. Manual training, domestic science, the fine and industrial arts as parts of primary and secondary education, economic, scientific and technical training for business in the higher institutions—all recognize the fact that the world's work demands technically instructed workers.

The aristocracy of education has passed. The importance of the average citizen is more than ever apparent as the experiment of our democracy proceeds in its evolution. Not the least present evidence of this fact is the appeal of this Conference to the business man and the chance here given him to get a broader and better definition of democracy. And there is something beyond this. If the statement already made concerning the attitude of higher education to business is true, the indication is plain that scholarship, recognizing the sentiment born of the social and economic forces of the present age, is holding forth the right hand of fellowship to business. Time was when soldiers and ecclesiastics furnished the majority of the people's heroes, but the time is now when captains of industry, masters of finance, creators of communication and transportation, will supply the men whom the people delight to honor.

Fitting, then, the time and place for business men to recognize

the door of opportunity held open by the hand of education. From this place let intelligence, statesmanship and social service contradict in tone and terms that cannot be mistaken the bad ethics and worse policy involved in the fallacy that taxation for education is a sacrifice for either the citizen or the corporation. The acquisition of knowledge by the mass of the people has material and economic value. Real progress pauses for the popular recognition of the fact. This Conference has a serious share in the perception of the fact and the expression of the reply.

Enough has perhaps been said to indicate the ease of association and co-operation between the educational and material professions. What, then, of the official? The complaint is not local nor confined to places dominated by either of the great political parties that politics are the bane of public education. The complaint has a large basis of truth, and the difficulty should be removed. This complaint, like many others upon which pessimism fattens, sings loudest from the silent places of the evil. The demands of intelligent public sentiment considerably enforced have omnipotent power. Between the teacher and the official stands the citizen. Let him extend a kindly hand each way and the magic power of intelligent sympathy will twist the three-cord cable of progress so strongly that it may not be easily broken.

Out from the Hampton School there went, years since, a good negro that by sharing the knowledge gained at the school with his neighbors of both races doubled the potato crop of his county. On the same principle there are school districts and whole counties scattered through the South in which one educated, forceful, tactful, white citizen, beginning single-handed and alone, has so inspired teachers, officials and neighbors as to increase a hundredfold the quality and quantity of public education. A single phrase settles the point in our present discussion. It voices itself to each delinquent, "Go thou and do likewise."

And now, assuming that the historic spirit of the Conference is understood, that its right to continued existence because of a prevailing need is admitted, that its parental relation to other organizations has not been obscured by explanation and that larger opportunities for usefulness are clearly before it, I have the privilege to commend to your consideration the admirable program prepared by the vice-president of the Conference, a citizen of Ala-

bama and executive secretary to the Southern Education Board, Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, with the assistance in an hour of need of Dr. Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board.

It may be very readily said that the speakers make the program. In a sense they do. But what of the man that must bring topics and talkers into symmetrical succession, through worry and work? The distinguished men needed for such an occasion as this are human and the unexpected is the only absolute certainty. Thus it comes about that the maker of our program, dealing with men from remote places, finds that sickness and unforeseen obligations enter the most distinguished circles and many kaleidoscopic changes must occur before a proper program confronts the audience. Therefore I ask appreciation for the labor demanded by the executive work for the intellectual repast that the succeeding sessions of this Conference have reason to expect.

For a few moments more I must ask your attention to a sorrowful topic. We are here this evening by invitation from the state of Alabama. All who were at Richmond a year since will recall the presentation of this invitation by several citizens of this commonwealth. Prominent among them was the Hon. Joseph B. Graham, of Talledega, field agent of the Southern Education Board. All that heard his cordial message will recall the grace and sincerity of his utterance, the charm of his manner, the attractiveness of his personality. Also we remember the forceful style of his later address upon local taxation for education. Little did we then expect that coming here in response to his invitation, we should miss him from the ranks of welcoming friends. In the early days of July last, just as he was about starting from his home city for a journey in the interest of the Board, his precious life was suddenly taken by a railroad accident. Explanation of the mysterious Providence that removed him in all the rich maturity of his splendid young manhood is impossible.

The sympathy of this Conference goes forth to the desolated home. His associates in the work for the people personally mourn for him, and the cause to which so much of his effort was devoted is poorer in its loss of his unique power and unselfish devotion. This Conference is young in years, but is yet old enough to have a sacred roster of noble names of those who have passed from the

field of active work. Bright in this golden list so long as our personal memories shall last will shine the name of Joseph B. Graham. As we close up the ranks and accept the legacy of added responsibility created by this latest bereavement let the solemnity of duty find inspiration from the fidelity of his great example.

The president of the Conference, having completed his annual address, then introduced the Rev. Bishop Charles B. Galloway of Mississippi, who spoke as follows upon "The South and the Negro."

#### BISHOP GALLOWAY.

The subject of this hour's discussion is not of my selection. With the honored invitation to accept a place on the program of this great convention came also the request that I should speak on "The South and the Negro." The distinguished honor of this request was accorded, not because I have capacity to speak on this subject by the authority of fuller and more accurate knowledge than others, but rather because I live in the South and am a friend of the negro.

Some acquaintance with this section and its citizenship I ought to have gained from life-long residence and eager observation and unwavering devotion. From my birth to this good hour I have lived in Mississippi—the most intensely Southern of all Southern states—and where, because of their immense numbers, the so-called "problem" of the negroes is most acute. It is, therefore, not for want of opportunity, if I lack information, or am possessed of misinformation.

I shall speak to-night with perfect candor, if not with approved wisdom, and I appear not as the partizan of an idea, but as an ambassador of the truth and a lover of my country.

In offering some thoughts on the subject assigned I shall not review ancient history, but consider present conditions. It is time for us to cease discussing who is most responsible for American slavery. Present duty has been neglected in an acrimonious wrangle over history. For, after all, the only difference between the South and the North on the slavery question is the difference between father and grandfather. My father was connected with slavery, and so was their grandfather. Our memories are only a little more vivid because somewhat shorter.



In the study of this momentous question some things may be considered as definitely and finally settled:

First.—In the South there will never be any social mingling of the races. Whether it be prejudice or pride of race, there is a middle wall of partition which will not be broken down.

Second.—They will worship in separate churches and be educated in separate schools. This is desired alike by both races, and is for the good of each.

Third.—The political power of this section will remain in present hands. Here, as elsewhere, intelligence and wealth will and should control the administration of governmental affairs.

Fourth.—The great body of the negroes are here to stay. Their coerced colonization would be a crime, and their deportation a physical impossibility. And the white people are less anxious for them to go than the negroes are to leave. They are natives and not intruders,

Now let us consider some of the duties we owe these people, committed to us as a trust.

First.—They must be guaranteed the equal protection of the law. To do less would forfeit plighted faith and disrupt the very foundations of social order. All the resources of government should be exhausted in protecting innocence and punishing guilt. There should be no aristocracy in crime. A white fiend is as much to be feared as a "black brute." The racial line has no place in courts of justice. Offenders against the peace and dignity of the state should have the same fair trial and the same just punishment, whatever their crime or color of skin.

And the majesty of law must be enthroned and sustained. When its sanctions are disregarded and its mandates are not respected the very foundations of government become insecure. If confidence is destroyed in the decisions of courts there is no protection for life and property. We have reason for real alarm at the phenomenal growth of the spirit of lawlessness. And it is not confined to any one section of our great country. I give it as my deliberate judgment that there is never an occasion when the resort to lynch law can be justified. However dark and dreadful the crime, punishment should be inflicted by due process of law. Every lyncher becomes a law despiser, and every law despiser is a

betrayers of his country. The lynching spirit, unrestrained, increases in geometrical progression.

But there are indications of a better day. After our night of sorrow, there is promise of a more hopeful morning. Our best citizens are becoming alarmed and public sentiment is being aroused. A camp of Confederate veterans in Mississippi, composed of heroic men who feared not the wild shock of battle in contending for what they believed to be right, recently passed some vigorous resolutions against this spirit of lawlessness, in which occur these strong words: "Mob violence is antagonistic to liberty, and ultimately leads to anarchy, desolation and ruin." And in this ringing utterance they voice at once the deep conviction and profound humiliation of our best citizenship. We have a good people in our state, loving justice, hating wrong and despising unfairness. They are ready to uphold the majesty of the law when demands are made upon them.

Second.—The right education of the negro is at once a duty and a necessity. All the resources of the school should be exhausted in elevating his character, improving his condition and increasing his capacity as a citizen. The policy of an enforced ignorance is illogical, un-American and un-Christian. It is possible in a despotism, but perilous in a republic. It is indefensible on any grounds of social or political wisdom, and is not supported by any standards of ethics or justice. If one fact is more clearly demonstrated by the logic of history than another, it is that education is an indispensable condition of wealth and prosperity. This is a universal law, without exemption or exception. Ignorance is a cure for nothing.

"It is strange, indeed," says Mr. Murphy, "if education—a policy of God long before it was a policy of man, a policy of the universe long before it was a policy of society—were to find its first defeat at the negro's hands."\*

Of course, educational methods may be unwise and inadequate, and educational auspices may be unfortunate and unwholesome. In such event the proper course is not to close the school, but to change the methods—not to stop the teaching, but to improve the teachers. "The repression of it will result, not in its

\*PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SOUTH, by Edgar Gardner Murphy; The Macmillan Co., New York; p. 59 fol.

extinction, but in its perversion." That results have been disappointing, there is no room to doubt. Even the most sanguine and sentimental must admit that a good deal of prophecy has not been fulfilled. Yet progress has been made, and we have much to inspire hope and encourage effort.

Several years ago when standing before a great audience in Tremont Temple, Boston, it gave me pardonable and patriotic pride to utter these words: "I come from a state where liberal and equal provision is made for the education of our colored children in the common schools. And there is practically no sentiment in favor of withholding from them the best possible scholastic advantages. Whatever doubts some may entertain, all are united and fixed in the purpose to test the virtue and potential force of education in solving the gravest question that has ever been presented to the people. It is written in the organic law of the state, and has become the settled policy of our people."

I deeply regret, Mr. President, that it is impossible for me to repeat so emphatically those words this evening. Some of our good people—not a majority, I am glad to say—have become so disappointed over educational results that they have almost reached the point of despair. Impatient in their desire to see larger returns from well-meant efforts and liberal appropriations, they have raised the question as to the wisdom of a radical change of policy. I am sure, however, that the facts do not justify their honest fears.

But what would be the effect of a policy of suppression? Suppose we close the thirty thousand negro schools of the South, what would be the result? Let Dr. Curry tell us: "Ignorance more dense, pauperism more general and severe, crime, superstition and immorality rampant." We would not survive such a policy. The boasted strength of our governmental institutions could not endure the strain. We cannot have a democracy for one class of our population, and a despotism for the other. We cannot elevate and subjugate at the same time. And, above everything, let us be just. I am jealous for my people, that they be not amenable to the charge of injustice. We must keep our covenants. The utterance of a distinguished political leader of my state I make my own:

"There is nothing so unprofitable as injustice. There is nothing that will react with such deadly effect upon the character of

any people as the practice of wrong and oppression upon the weak and helpless. The denial of opportunities for education to the negro can be justified upon no good grounds. It ignores the teachings of Jesus. It is contrary to the genius and spirit of Christianity. It proposes a solution of the problem which is at variance with the fundamentals of our religion. Nothing could ever justify it, even to our consciences."

And that view is held by the greatest leaders of the South. No man who ever represented my native State of Mississippi in the highest councils of the nation more correctly interpreted her truest thought on all great issues than did L. Q. C. Lamar. And no man among us ever had a more enthusiastic following. His great deliverances became the accepted doctrines of his people. A profound political philosopher who never contented himself with a surface view of any subject, and who had unconcealed contempt for mere partizan harangue, he gave to every question which concerned the welfare of the state and nation the sincerest and most patriotic consideration.

When a measure was pending in the Senate proposing national aid to education, Mississippi's distinguished Senator gave expression to matured views that commanded the applause of the entire state. A few sentences from that great speech may be reproduced with profit. Northern Senators had intimated lack of confidence in the state's educational authorities to distribute the fund equitably, and suggested amendments to the bill. Senator Lamar said:

"I say with entire confidence that this distrust is not deserved; that Senators are mistaken as to the state of feeling in the South with reference to the education of the negro. The people of the South find that the most precious interests of their society and civilization are bound up in the question of his education—of his elevation out of his present state of barbarism. I shall enter into no argument upon that subject. I intended to read some authorities on it, but my friend from South Carolina (Mr. Hampton) has anticipated me."

After quoting from Dr. Mayo, Professor Smart and other Northern educators, who had been South and had applauded the heroic efforts of the Southern people to educate both races alike, Senator Lamar further said:

"The problem of race, in a large part, is a problem of illiteracy. Most of the evils, most of the difficulties, which have grown up out

of that problem have arisen from a condition of ignorance, prejudice and superstition. Remove these, and the simpler elements of the question will come into play with a more enlightened understanding and a more tolerant disposition. I will go with those who will go furthest in the matter."

In educational statesmanship, no voice has been more potential in America during the past quarter of a century than that peerless Southern leader, the late Dr. J. L. M. Curry. The echoes of his marvellously musical voice will continue to thrill the hearts of American patriotism like the inspiring notes of a bugle. Alas! that he is not a conspicuous figure in this convention to-night. In a masterly address before the constitutional convention of Louisiana, a few years ago, he spoke these grandly eloquent words:

"The negroes, unlike alien immigrants, are here not of their own choosing, and their civil and political equality is the outcome of our subjugation. Neither their presence nor their civil equality is likely to be changed in our day. The negroes will remain a constituent portion of the Southern population and citizenship. What are to be our relations to them? Are they to be lifted up, or left in the condition of discontent, ignorance, poverty, crime, barbarism? Shall one race have every encouragement and opportunity for development for higher civilization, and the other be handicapped and environed with insurmountable obstacles to progress? Are friction, strife, hatred, less likely with the negro under stereotyped conditions of inferiority than by the recognition and stimulation of whatever capacities for progress he may possess? Shall we learn nothing from history? Do Ireland and Poland furnish us no lessons?"

Wise words and wisely spoken. By these principles, so eloquently enunciated by our great leaders, the country will unfalteringly stand. Whatever the discouragements and seeming failures, the policy inspired by Christianity and vindicated by history will not be reversed. And in all the coming years that which will be spoken of most to the honor of the South was that, out of the wreck and ruin of war, with little left but the charred and scarred remains of fire and tempest, she gave with an almost lavish hand to the education of the negroes. Every line on that page of her brilliant history will be glorious with the unstinted praise of the civilized world.

From the declaration that education has made the negro more immoral and criminal, I am constrained to dissent. There are no data or figures on which to base such an indictment or justify such an assertion. On the contrary, indisputable facts attest the statement that education and its attendant influences have elevated the standard and tone of morals among the negroes of the South. The horrid crimes, which furnish an apology for the too frequent expressions of mob violence in these parallels, are committed, almost without exception, by the most ignorant and brutal of the race. I have been at not a little pains to ascertain from representatives of various institutions the post-collegiate history of their students, and I am profoundly gratified at the record. I believe it perfectly safe to say that not a single case of criminal assault has ever been charged on a student of a mission school for negroes founded and sustained by a great Christian denomination.

"To school the negro," says a certain editor, "is to increase his criminality. Official statistics do not lie, and they tell us that the negroes who can read and write are more criminal than the illiterate. The more money for negro education, the more crime. This is the unmistakable showing of the United States Census."

Now, I do not hesitate to affirm that the United States Census shows unmistakably exactly the opposite—that education has decreased crime. A careful study of the exact figures will show that the proportion of negro criminals from the illiterate class has been 40 per cent. larger than from the class which has had school training. And when we consider further that it is naturally and notoriously easier to convict a poor negro of any crime than a white man who has influential friends and well-paid counsel, the strength of the statement is irresistible and unanswerable.

Joel Chandler Harris, the distinguished author and political philosopher, whose interpretation of the Southern negro has given him world-wide and immortal fame, in a recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, gives this emphatic testimony:

"The idle and criminal classes among them make a great show in the police court records, but right here in Atlanta the reputable and decent negroes far outnumber those who are on the lists of the police as new or old offenders. I am bound to conclude, from what I see about me and from what I know of the race elsewhere, that the negro, notwithstanding the late start he has made in civilization

and enlightenment, is capable of making himself a useful member of the community in which he lives and moves, and that he is becoming more and more desirous of conforming to all the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society."

The Hon. W. M. Cox, of Mississippi, prominent in the political councils of his state, for years a leading figure in our state legislature, and a scholar, has given his judgment on this question, which perfectly accords with my own observations. He says:

"When I consider all the circumstances of the case, the negro's weakness, his utter lack of preparation for freedom and citizenship, and the multitudinous temptations to disorder and wrongdoing which have assailed him, the wonder to me is, not that he has done so ill, but that he has done so well. No other race in the world would have borne itself with so much patience, docility and submissiveness. It is true that many grave crimes have been committed by negroes, and these have sorely taxed the patience of the white people of the South. I do not blink at their enormity, and I know that they must be sternly repressed and terribly avenged. But I insist that the entire race is not chargeable with these exceptional crimes, and that the overwhelming majority of the race are peaceable, inoffensive and submissive to whatever the superior race sees fit to put upon them. Their crimes are not the fruit of the little learning their schools afford them. They are the results of brutish instincts and propensities which they have not been taught to regulate and restrain."

And in this scheme for their education a constructive statesmanship suggests that proper training be provided for those who may become the teachers and wise leaders of their people.

The true theory of negro education in the South has been admirably stated in these words: "The rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for the many, and a college course for the talented few." The thirty thousand negro public schools of the South, on which \$7,500,000 are expended annually, and for which we have spent \$125,000,000 since 1870, must be supplied with competent teachers of that race.

To every man among them with the evident qualities of leadership, we should lend our Christian sympathy and a helping hand. President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, was entirely correct when he said: "I believe with a growing conviction that the salvation of



the negro in this country lies with the exceptional men of that race." And those, who have studied the philosophy of Christian missions and the progress of civilization, will tell you that the same is true of all the peoples of the earth. We train and Christianize the exceptional men who are to be the real redeemers of their race, whether in China, Japan, India or Africa.

Professor Max Muller gives authoritative and conclusive testimony on this momentous matter: "The intellectual and moral character of a nation is formed in schools and universities, and those who educate a people have always been its real masters, though they may go by a more modest name."

When Professor Tholuck reached the fiftieth anniversary of his great career as teacher of theology at Halle, he received hearty and grateful congratulations from pupils and friends in all parts of the German Empire. The Emperor sent him the decoration of the Order of the Black Eagle. Students, with torches, marched in procession past his windows, singing one of Luther's immortal hymns. What a significant and appropriate tribute to one of the mightiest forces in the empire! The man who was fitting teachers and preachers to mould the moral and religious thought of the nation, might well receive recognition and honor from the throne itself. For without the security given the empire in the ethical and religious instruction of the church and school, the throne itself would become unsteady, and the crown would rest uneasy on the Emperor's anxious head. And if for an empire, how much more important for a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign and peer of the realm.

Other phases of this problem of the nation I have not time to consider. Already I have trespassed too long upon your patience.

My message is to the younger people of the South. Into their strong hands the country is soon to be committed. The facts of history eloquently confirm the wise observation of Goethe, that "the destiny of a nation at any given time depends upon the opinions of its young men who are under twenty-five years of age." Upon them must devolve the solution of this problem. It requires great wisdom and long patience. But God rules, and right the day must win.

Young men of my country, in everything dare to do right.



Have faith in God and the future. Stand by the underlying principles of our great republic, and the coming years will vindicate your manly independence and uncorrupted patriotism. Kepler, the great astronomer, who won for himself the title of "legislator of the skies," rejoiced more in truth than in titles, in honor than in honors. When his work, "The Harmonies of the World," was first published, he said: "I can afford to wait a century for a reader, since God Himself waited six thousand years for an observer." And so every man who is dominated by honest convictions and is inspired by a righteous ambition to promote the best interests of his country can well afford to abide the certain and triumphant vindication of the future.

After some brief announcements the Conference adjourned to meet the following day at 10 a. m.



## SECOND DAY, APRIL 27, 1904.

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### MORNING SESSION.

The Conference was called to order by the president at 10:30 a. m. in the Jefferson Theatre. Under the head of "Reports From the Field," the first address was delivered by the Hon. H. L. Whitfield, Superintendent of Education for the State of Mississippi. Said Mr. Whitfield:

#### H. L. WHITFIELD.

In my opinion what the South most needs is fully to realize that what is best in her material life can be reached only as a result of the proper training of her people; that her material development cannot possibly be in advance of the development of her people; that she must formulate a definite and comprehensive policy and with patience work out in an orderly way her own salvation. In other words, the paramount issue of the South is the proper education of the children of the South. Our people must be made to see that this is the first, the logical, the necessary step to take. We cannot hope for our best development until all the formulators of opinion be made to know that no development in the South can be any better than are the schools of the South. Whenever we can get the thinking South, without regard to calling, fully to comprehend this truth, in my opinion her problems will have been largely solved. We not only need larger school budgets, but we need all our people to realize what it means to educate, and that the education of the children should not be wholly relegated to school-teachers, but that every individual with an interest in his state and country should contribute at least a part of his best thought to this

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question to the end that the best methods may be employed and the best results obtained.

I long to see the time when the press will discuss all the questions appertaining to public education with the same intelligence that it does good roads, diversified industries, better methods of agriculture and politics. Whenever we give the proper consideration to causes, effects will take care of themselves.

I am glad to report that public sentiment in Mississippi is fast crystallizing along this line; her people are fast coming to the conclusion that she cannot expect anything better in her life than she makes her schools, the highest evidence of which is the progress, at great sacrifice, she has made within the last two years.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question of local taxation in Mississippi, I will discuss briefly what should be the unit of local taxation in the South. My own experience in the work has resulted in changing my convictions on this subject. I originally thought that a large part of the revenues for the support of the schools should be raised in the school districts, but after carefully going over the field I am now satisfied that it will be years before this principle of district taxation can be practically applied in the rural districts of the South. Population is so sparse and property values so small that it is practically impossible for a large majority of the rural districts in the South to sustain their own schools; and if our laws permitted rural districts to cut themselves off from the remainder of the county and levy taxes for their own support, the result would be that the stronger communities would levy such a tax and the more numerous poorer districts would not be able to raise sufficient revenues by local taxation to give any material extension to their terms.

The county in the South is the political unit, and the people are accustomed to transact their local business through county agencies. I believe that in the main, the practical benefits which are obtained by district taxation in the East and West will result from county taxation in the South. It is necessary here to avail ourselves of every source of revenue, and the stronger must help the weaker, and if districts are permitted to tax themselves for their own schools it should be after they have borne their pro rata of the taxation for the whole county. Under a county system of taxation, schools will be more uniform as to length of term and

grading; consequently can be better supervised than they would be under a district system where each district would have a different length of term. Again, to obtain local taxation in a county it is necessary that the entire county be agitated and the same result in the way of the general education of the people is obtained as is obtained from the levying of the district tax.

The constitution of Mississippi makes it mandatory on the legislature to appropriate a sufficient sum of money from the state treasury to maintain the schools of the state for not less than four months in each year. It permits counties and separate school districts to extend the school term provided by the state.

About three years ago I organized a comprehensive campaign for better schools, the main idea being to discuss before the people the underlying principles of common schools that they might have a higher appreciation of public schools, and that they might sustain them more liberally. I will briefly outline the plan I have followed in this work. I do not know that there is anything in the methods employed to distinguish it from like work that has been done in all the states of the South. However, some of my brethren in the work may derive some suggestions as to the details of my plan that may be of some practical value to them. While general education of the people on the subject of public education was the general purpose of the campaign, to procure county taxation for schools was the direct end.

I will now somewhat at detail give the general plan of campaign: At the beginning of the year I would select the counties that I intended to canvass during the year, and would make a visit to each of those counties on the occasion of the meeting of its spring court. It is the custom in our state for a large part of the adult male population to be present on the first day of the county court. The judges, almost without exception, have treated me with the greatest consideration, usually permitting me to address the people at the time that the largest number were present and when they would give the best attention. After discussing fully the questions at issue, I would give notice that I would spend some time in the county during the summer for the purpose of agitating public sentiment in favor of a local school levy. At the close of my speech I always put the question to a vote in order to get as many committed to the proposition as possible. These expres

sions have always been practically unanimous in favor of making the levy.

Those present, representing every part and faction of the county, would usually immediately commence the agitation in their immediate neighborhoods.

One of the principal benefits derived from this vote on the proposition is, that it is very striking evidence to that class of our fellow citizens who want to be always with the majority and to pose as leaders of the majority, that the sentiment of the county was largely in favor to the proposition. Speech-making alone does not do the work. Practical organization is necessary. While making these preliminary visits, I organize my forces and try to place strong men at strategic points. I enlisted, as far as I could, the interest of the county superintendent, leading teachers, ministers, newspaper men, and leading citizens. I would get a list of the voters of the county, and send to each of them an address and other printed matter that was sent out during the contest. The active work has to be done in the summer time, as the farmers have no time to attend meeting when the crops demand their attention. As much preliminary work is done as possible and the active campaign usually opens about the 1st of July and closes the 1st of September.

After having made a preliminary survey of the districts to be worked, I then called together those that were to be associated with me in the active campaign work. I went over carefully the situation in each county with them, giving them all the data collected on my preliminary visit. All the arguments that had been made against the movement and the best ways to answer them were carefully discussed. Each campaigner was directed to spend at least a month in making preliminary visits to the territory which was assigned him, which was usually about four counties, for the purpose of becoming thoroughly familiar with the situation and of enlisting all the forces possible in behalf of the work. A number of dates was made for each county, usually at some country church; local men of influence were invited to address the people; sometimes distinguished citizens from some of the colleges, or ministers who were helping generally in the work, would be present on these occasions.

I have found that the only real difficulty in the work is to get

before the people, for I have never known in all my personal experience a case where those present at a meeting would not always vote practically unanimously for the tax. Where means can be provided I think it best to employ some tactful person to do the work of advertising these meetings. In one county last year I had a bright young school man to make a series of appointments for me. He spent several days in the county, went to each place where an appointment was made, secured the co-operation of the leading citizens of the community, had the people to give us a basket dinner; he then procured the names of all the heads of the families within a radius of several miles of the place and wrote personal letters and sent circular matter to all of them. As a result, we had large crowds at each place. The names of all present were usually secured to a petition addressed to the county board, asking that the tax be levied. Some responsible person was appointed to see those of his neighborhood who were not present, and, if possible, to secure their signatures to the petition. These petitions were all sent to the county manager by a certain date and were filed by him with the board before their meeting for levying taxes. When the county board met to levy taxes, we always had as many influential people present as possible; this is a critical time in the work, and I have known one or two instances where we failed to get school levies because there were no active leaders present.

My experience is, that the people are willing, when they thoroughly understand the question, to levy the tax. The people of the South are again passing through a transition period, and in my opinion the civilization of the South for years to come will be determined by this work that we are now doing.

I will now give some of the results which I think are clearly traceable to this agitation for better schools.

First.—At the beginning of this campaign only three counties and seventy-four separate school districts were levying local taxes; now thirty-six counties and ninety-two separate school districts are maintaining their schools in part by local taxation.

Second.—The annual increase in the state appropriation has been \$555,000.

Third.—The average term of the rural schools, exclusive of the separate districts, has increased from 90 to over 123 days.

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Fourth.—A larger number of school-houses is now being built in the state than ever before in its history.

Fifth.—The average monthly salaries of the teachers have been increased something over \$4.00.

Sixth.—It has given a new inspiration to the teachers. They are now organizing for the purpose of thoroughly overhauling our entire school system. The State Teachers' Association through a committee has just distributed over the state a thorough discussion of the rural school problem. Every phase of our rural school work is thoroughly discussed, and I consider this little brochure a credit to our teachers. The teachers are now organizing in every county, and the number attending the summer schools and institutes has been largely increased.

Seventh.—More liberal school legislation. The legislature recently adjourned, passed a law increasing the salaries of the county superintendents 40 per cent., which I consider to be one of the most important steps ever taken by our legislature, the results of which are already visible in the better support they are giving me in my work.

One great trouble we have always had in our work in getting the counties to levy taxes has been that there has always been a general legislative restriction as to the amount of taxes a county might levy. In the interior counties where there were no railroads and little other corporate property it usually took the maximum levy for the necessary county expenses, and, as a result, although the people might be unanimous in favor of the tax and the board were willing to make it, yet it was impossible to do so because of this legislative restriction on taxation. The legislature has removed this restriction as to taxes levied for schools. Now it will be possible for us to get the tax levied in any county in the State.

A law also was passed raising the maximum monthly salaries of rural teachers from \$55 to \$65.

County boards were given the power of making largely increased appropriations for school-houses.

On the whole, I consider that the legislature has been generous to us, and I am satisfied that if we can but show results, it will be even more generous to us in the future.

Our state is exerting herself in raising the funds necessary to sustain the schools, but our property is fast increasing in value, new industries are being developed, and I do not think it will be long before we will be able to adequately sustain them.

Eighth.—The legislature just adjourned, in round numbers, appropriated for all purposes \$5,200,000. Of this amount \$3,755,267.12 was for public education, or something over 72 per cent. of the total appropriations was for education. The total taxable value of all the property in Mississippi is \$251,477,450. We will use this year for our common schools alone, not counting the colleges or institutions for unfortunates, about \$2,700,000, which sum is considerable over 1 per cent. of the value of the entire taxable property of the state.

This is a heavy burden, but our people feel that it is the best investment that can be made, and that the returns received from it in material resources and better citizenship will be full compensation for the sacrifices made in supporting the schools.

Some parts of the state are doing all that possibly can be done. There are yet some counties and districts that we must canvass. The whole field must be covered in order that a reaction may not result. In fact, I realize that this is a most critical period in our educational work. Public sentiment has rapidly advanced. Taxes for schools are unusually high, but we will do all we can to show the people that the money appropriated is wisely expended.

In my opinion, the greatest benefit that has resulted from this agitation, is the better school sentiment that now exists in the state. The people appreciate their schools as never before and are willing to better sustain them in every particular.

I think the largely increased appropriations by the last two legislatures are due wholly to a popular demand.

Perhaps the best expression of this better school sentiment is the better school attendance.

At the conclusion of Superintendent Whitfield's address, the president read a telegram of greeting from the Hon. N. C. Blanchard, Governor-elect of Louisiana. The following address under the head of "Reports from the Field" was then delivered by the Hon. S. A. Mynders, State Superintendent of Education for Tennessee:



## S. A. MYNDERS.

Tennessee was the first state formed out of territory to be admitted into the Union, and it is the only state that at the time of its admission into the Union found the title to its public lands vested in the general Government and not in the state or township. The liberal policy of the Federal Government in providing for public education in states formed out of territory was not adopted until six years after Tennessee became a state, and was not made to apply to Tennessee until two years thereafter.

When the state did receive the benefit of the act it should have received four hundred and forty-four thousand, four hundred and forty-four acres, but in fact received only twenty-two thousand, less than one-twentieth of what it was entitled to. This does not include the grant for colleges and academies. North Carolina paid its Revolutionary soldiers in bounty lands, and these bounties were located in what is now Tennessee, so that in 1804, when we attempted to locate our lands it was found that they were already settled and that the settlers could not be dispossessed. Then the system of government surveys had not been extended to Tennessee, so that the land sections could not be easily determined. From this small beginning Tennessee has had to build up its public school system, and has received no other assistance. The proceeds from the sale of the public lands were carefully guarded by the early legislatures and added to from time to time by such funds as the state could spare. A committee of the legislature of 1839 reported the school fund of the state to be at that time one million five hundred thousand dollars. Several attempts were made in the early history of the state to establish a system of public schools, but perhaps the first successful attempt was made in 1867, when an act was passed to create and maintain a system of public schools. This act provided for a limited income from the state and local taxation by the several counties of the state. Much trouble was found in inducing the county courts to levy a special tax from the fact that the act provided for the education of the negro, and as all taxes were paid by the whites they did not readily take to the idea of dividing the same with those who had recently been their property. The advocates of a public school system, however, made a vigorous campaign in behalf of the recent enactment, and nothing did more

to popularize the same than the excellent report of Colonel Killebrew, the assistant superintendent of public instruction, made in March, 1872, from which the following quotation is made:

"I regret to have to report that there is yet in some localities strong feeling against levying a school tax, because the negroes will be made partakers of its benefits. It is not well for a community or an individual to suffer prejudice to drive them in opposition to their best interest and highest duties. The problem presented is one of the gravest nature, and should command our most serious and careful consideration. By a decree of Providence, the negro is here with us, subject to the same law, and entitled to the same privileges by law. That he can be made a useful laborer and a quiet, peaceable citizen, no one who is acquainted with his character can doubt. His attachment to the place of his birth is marvelous, and the most powerful influence brought to bear upon him by corrupt and designing politicians was not able, with but few exceptions, to destroy the confidence he had in the honesty and uprightness of his former owner. If his labor can be improved; if it can be made more profitable to himself, his employer and the state, the highest considerations of duty, charity, benevolence and patriotism demand that it be done. Intelligence multiplies results even in the brute. A horse, for instance, trained to walk straight forward to stakes in laying off rows for the planting of corn can do a third more work in a day, and do it better, than one not so trained or educated. A team that has been disciplined can draw a far heavier load than one untrained. Every farmer knows that the value of his laborer depends, other things being equal, upon the degree of his intelligence. Up to a certain point there can be no question as to the advantages to the employer to be derived from the education of the laborer."

This report showed at that time that only twenty-nine of the ninety-three counties had levied a special county tax for schools. The excellent work of Col. Killebrew, however, bore much fruit, and in 1873 the legislature passed the present school act and within two years from that time every county in the state had levied a special school tax. In some, however, it was very small. Since that time, the public school system has had a gradual growth.

The last year has been one of great improvement in public school sentiment. The state legislature increased the revenue for

public education by distributing to the several counties the surplus in the state treasury at the end of the year. On the 31st of December, 1903, the amount of this was \$271,600, and we have good reason to believe that it will be very largely increased next December. Through the generosity of the Southern Education Board we were able last year to carry on a campaign among the people and county courts of the state, and as a result I am pleased to report that for the year 1904 only one county decreased its public school tax, while fully one-third of them made substantial increase. A number of counties will this year be able to run their schools nine months, and I think the average term will be at least six months.

The Hon. O. B. Martin, state superintendent of education of South Carolina, then spoke as follows:

O. B. MARTIN.

I am asked to give a brief report of educational conditions, progress and prospects in the state of the palmetto, the pine, the rice-field, the "Dispensary and the Pitch-fork." Perhaps it is well to refresh your minds in regard to the geography, the topography and the anthropography of that part of the moral vineyard now under consideration. You will remember that about half of the area of this state extends from the sea-coast, to a dividing line which we call the sand-hills. In this fertile, alluvial country, which ranges from the sea-level to an altitude of 300 feet, will be found a profusion of alligators, pickaninnies, rice-fields, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and pine and cypress forests. Here, too, are found our phosphate deposits, and here we are beginning our great trucking—strawberry and melon—industries. This is the country of the wealthy South Carolina antebellum gentleman, and these vast acres make up his plantation. Here may be seen the dilapidated mansion; and the fact that in some sections there are thirty negroes to one white person shows that the descendants of his numerous slaves are congested in the same locality. The impulsive and impetuous character shows that thousands of French people settled here in colonial days. It is one of our great problems to make fifty farms out of the great plantation and then provide proper school conditions and social necessities for a changed and reformed civilization. This part of our state has enormous possibilities.

We have less foreign population than any other state, except one; and only four states have as much negro population as South Carolina. An incoming wave of immigration has begun in this section of the state; we have a high tide of zeal and energy in industrial lines and it well behooves us to take school prospects "at the flood and lead on to fortune."

The northern half of South Carolina is and has been the home of the Scotch-Irish, the English and the German. This is the land of small farms and a large predominance of white people. Here is an undulating, rolling country which reaches to an elevation of 3000 feet, where nestles the home of the sturdy mountaineer. Here may be found our cotton, corn and wheat fields; and here is where our "waterfalls, wearied with the solos of centuries, have joined in musical duets with the shuttle and the loom." In this section you may travel more than a hundred miles and not be out of sight of a prosperous mill village for more than five minutes at a time. It is here that school administrators must face the difficult problems of the mill towns and the not less difficult ones of the depleted country from which the operatives have gone. Ambition grows wildly and luxuriantly in mountainous environment; and there are enough ambitious, aspiring children beneath the frowning cliffs of the Blue Ridge to guide the destinies and direct the energies of the greatest nation under heaven. What greater privilege on earth than to provide wholesome and adequate training for such children!

Before going into a report of last year's work, I want to remind you that our public school system is less than forty years old. A man rented some land from a wealthy gentleman in my town a few years ago and they were walking over it in October, when it ought to have been grown and in full fruitage. "Why," said the landowner, "the cotton is very small." "Yes," said the renter, "but you must remember that it is not a year old yet." Our school system, as a system, did not exist prior to 1868. My report this year to the General Assembly was the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education. Fifty years ago, we had private schools galore, and a plan to aid poor children in these schools; but there was no public school system. We now have but half a system. Our white schools, on an average, ran 112 days last year and the colored schools 74 days. It is a crisis in our work

until we have a session of twice that length, and until a child can receive a first-class education at any of the public schools. We spent last year \$1,046,143.49 upon the education of 288,713 children. We spent about a quarter of a million dollars in college education. We levied local taxes in more than 75 districts, making a total of nearly 400 out of 1636 districts in the state. I may add in this connection that, by special act of the legislature, twenty districts voted to issue bonds, and several excellent public school buildings have been built and are now being built, ranging in cost from \$8000 to \$42,000. Nearly \$200,000 was raised in this way. In many counties there has been consolidation of districts, but our work along this line has been directed chiefly to the consolidation of schools within the district; because, according to our law, a district may contain as much as forty-nine square miles. We have had sixty-five consolidations of schools, doing away with nearly 200 schools; and we have built 124 new school-houses this year.


Our last legislature established 124 scholarships, especially for farmer boys at Clemson College, our great industrial institution for men; and they increased the 124 scholarships at Winthrop, our great normal and industrial college for women, from \$44 to \$100 each. They established 82 normal scholarships, worth \$40 each in the historic South Carolina College, making a total increase in the appropriations for scholarships of \$22,624. They also increased our appropriation for summer schools. More than 2500 teachers attended summer schools last year. About 2400 attended our state and county schools, and more than 200 went to Knoxville, Chicago, Hampton, Tuskegee and elsewhere. This same legislature enacted a rural library law, and while the appropriation has been available about a month, more than 250 schools have already applied for its benefits, many of them raising more than the amount required. We confidently expect to establish 500 libraries in the country districts by the close of the year, and to expend \$20,000 in so doing; and to cap the climax the legislature put a capitation tax on canines. Every owner of a dog—whether it be cur, collie, fice or hound—shall pay an annual tax of fifty cents on each one, and the proceeds of this tax shall be devoted to the school fund. Do you wonder, therefore, that one of our leading educators wrote to the daily papers after the adjournment and remarked that we had “an educational legislature as well as an educational governor”?

It is but simple justice to say that much of our educational hope and enthusiasm has been inspired by this Conference and the boards which work in harmony with it. Our Conferences of County Superintendents and leading educators have been followed by an active campaign which has consisted of rallies in all parts of the state, in which all manner of public men have participated, conferences at various pivotal points, a careful study of our conditions by teachers who have traveled over typical counties and made helpful suggestions and formed working organizations, and a generous distribution of pamphlets, booklets and brochures to the uttermost parts of the state.

What we have done is but an earnest of what we will do. In connection with the work which was done last year, and as an index to the great work which lies before us, I want to quote from the reports of our young ladies who were appointed under the auspices of the Southern Education Board, and who visited several counties in our state. One says: "At —, a typical rural school was found away out in the backwoods, at least one-half a mile from any dwelling—no good playground, water inconvenient, lighting poor, seats uncomfortable; in fact, the surroundings were very discouraging. Here I longed for some books, some papers some ideas, to give these bright boys and girls, whose minds are being dwarfed by coming in contact with no such influences."

Again: "These schools are often held in what serves for a church also. The remote situation and accompanying graveyard must have anything but a cheerful influence. Once when I was observing the utter desolation of such a place, I asked a passing youth why all the doors and windows were left open. 'Yes'm,' he replied, 'they ain't nothin' in there to git hurt.' And when I went in, I realized what he meant; there was literally nothing in the way of equipment except one table and a few benches fastened at one end to the wall. . . . Here I was ashamed that I could not say all that I wished, for the interest was pathetic in its eagerness. An association was organized that pledged itself to relieve the bare grounds with native vines and trees; besides this, the trustees promised to finish the building, put in glass windows and aid the association in securing a small library."

Another: "In the morning I went to —. Here I expected a goodly number, as the trustee had answered my letter



and said the meeting had been well advertised and that he was doing all in his power to make it a success. I saw him on Tuesday before this meeting, and he felt assured we would have a fine crowd. The school-house, he said, had recently been painted inside and out and was 'a little gem'; but oh! horrors! the 'little gem,' to my utter astonishment, was painted a bright red and trimmed in a bright blue; the floor was painted black, and the ceiling a dirty white. The desks were home-made ones and painted the same color as the school-house. Truly, there was nothing here to admire unless it be that patriotism prompted the red, white and blue scheme."

Still another: "At —, Mr. — said that he was tired of poor schools and that he was also tired of sending his children away to town, and that he wanted a better school at home; he gave \$100, and \$200 more was raised on the spot. As a result, they will have two teachers and a nine months school this year."

The reports of these visitors, together with reports of rallies, consolidations, local tax agitations and library literature were put into the hands of every public-school trustee in South Carolina. You have heard of the old negro who was frightened by a boy with a white sheet over him in a graveyard. He ran a mile and slowed up. Another boy similarly attired suddenly stepped out from behind a tree and said, 'Didn't we run, though?' The old negro said: 'Yes, bless God, but you ain't seed no runnin' yit!' I hope that within the next year you may see some forward running in educational work in South Carolina. The history of South Carolina in the early 30's and also in the 60's will indicate that she has aspired to a leadership among Southern states in the past; she led her sisters into secession, and thus out of industrial bondage and feudal conditions, and she is anxious to lead in educational prosperity.

Our people are alive, alert and progressive; very few of them are like the "papoose who, strapped to the back of a squaw, never sees the world until it is past"; we are proud of our history and of the achievements of our fathers, but our faces are turned to the future and we are working for the welfare of our children. Come in April of 1905 and meet within our borders, in our beautiful capital city, the prettiest place in the world during the last week in April, and let the Palmetto State show her leadership in hos-

pitality, in fraternal greeting, in educational development, in all that pertains to the glory of the New South and of a united nation. We have been visiting the Conference for Education in the South in our neighboring states for several years, and we want you to be like the Irishman when the doctor presented him a bill for \$27. Pat remonstrated and asked for an itemized bill. The physician made it: \$2 for medicine; \$25 for visits. "Faith," says Pat, "I'll pay for the medicine, but I'll return the visits." I have been giving you the medicine for fifteen minutes, and I hope you will return the visit next year. And may the spirit of our conferring become the spirit of our whole people; may your people be my people, my people your people, and may naught but death come between us.

The Hon. I. W. Hill, State Superintendent of Education of Alabama, then spoke on "Recent and Pending Educational Progress" in that state.

#### ISAAC W. HILL.

In the fifteen minutes granted to me on this occasion I can do no more than give a mere statement of facts.

Prior to 1901 the appropriation for public-school purposes guaranteed by the constitution was \$100,000. This amount, however, was increased by legislative enactment, until in 1904 it reached \$550,000. This, with the interest of the sixteenth section funds and other land funds, and the one-mill school tax, gives us a total of about \$1,100,000 as the available school fund for the scholastic year ending September 30, 1904.

For the year beginning October 1, 1904, and ending September 30, 1905, the fund guaranteed by the new constitution will approximate \$852,000. To this will be added the poll tax, the sixteenth section interest funds and interest on other school funds, giving a total of \$1,150,000 available for school purposes. It will be noticed that there will be no great increase in the available funds. The great advantage, however, of the present plan over the old plan is that the school fund is guaranteed by constitutional enactment and is not subject to the whims, prejudices or passions of every legislature. Under our present Constitution thirty cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property in this state is set aside for



school purposes. Under the old constitution the guaranteed fund was \$100,000. Under the new constitution the guaranteed fund, with the present taxable values, will approximate \$852,000. In addition to this the present constitution provides that "it shall be the duty of the legislature to increase the public funds from time to time as the necessity therefor and the condition of the treasury and the resources of the state may justify." Our present school fund is permanent. No legislature can decrease it, and yet a patriotic legislature, if the state's finances justify, may increase it. Do you not think that the sentiment that forced the constitutional convention to give to the public schools as a permanent school fund almost one-half of its revenues derived from direct taxation shows that the public-school spirit is abroad in the land?

The state of Alabama as a state is at present doing all she can consistently do in the way of appropriations for public schools. Despite all this, in many sections the schools often languish for support. Teachers are poorly paid, although all the state appropriation, less four per cent for supervision, goes to them; our school buildings are poorly constructed and kept, and supervision is too frequently indifferent. This is not true, however, everywhere in the state. Some of our county superintendents are well qualified, enthusiastic and progressive. In some counties the teachers are well paid, school-houses are well built and the entire teaching force is imbued with that enthusiasm which comes as a natural result of love for the work.

An important law, fixing the minimum limit of the public-school term, was passed by the Legislature in 1901. Before that time a public-school contract could be made for three months. The legislature referred to extended the minimum limit of the term to five months. At present some of the counties in the state have not a school with a contract for less than six months, and the average in the State is more than five months. Alabama's three months school is a thing of the past.

For the first time in the history of Alabama the principle of local taxation is recognized in the constitution. Under this constitution counties may, by a three-fifths vote of the people, levy a tax of ten cents on the hundred dollars. The machinery for levying this tax has been provided and the question is now being agitated in many counties. The sentiment in favor of local taxation is

growing in the state every day and the demand for a constitutional amendment allowing local taxation by districts is becoming strongly noticeable. Local taxation by counties will prove very advantageous, but provision should also be made for taxation by districts. The funds secured by county taxation would enable the county boards of education to make valuable improvements in the rural schools not possible at this time.

Another enactment of the legislature of 1903 which shows a growing sentiment in favor of public education and of public schools was the passing of a law classing school-houses as public buildings and authorizing commissioners courts, and boards of revenue to sell bonds under certain limitations for their construction.

It should be said that what has been stated in regard to rural schools does not apply in all instances to the schools in the larger towns and cities. Under the new constitution a number of towns in the state are given the right to levy a local tax for school purposes. Several of them have already levied the tax, among which are Gadsden, Cullman and New Decatur. Many of the cities and towns appropriate funds from their general revenues for the support of the schools and many of them have built school-houses which would be a pride to any system.

Alabama has made excellent provision for a supply of well-qualified teachers. Four normal schools for white teachers, three for colored teachers, nine district agricultural schools, a Girls' Industrial School at Montevallo, the University of Alabama and the Polytechnic Institute, all supported by the state, and at which tuition is free, are Alabama's contribution toward the demand for well-qualified teachers. In addition, there are in the state many denominational and private schools and colleges which do excellent work and send out into the state well-prepared instructors. The State has generously made an annual appropriation of five thousand dollars, which fund has been supplemented by the trustees of the State University, for conducting at that institution a six weeks summer school for teachers. The first session will be held the coming summer. The very best available talent has been secured and a great good is anticipated. Despite all this there is a lack of well-qualified teachers.

It seems that this condition will continue until provisions have been made to pay teachers better salaries. In Alabama, as else-

where, teachers are paid a lower wage than any other class of brain workers. Our people still pay to officers to convict and punish boys more than they do to employ teachers to train them in such manner as to prevent them from going wrong. Our court-houses and jails are still the best public buildings found in our rural counties. The trend of sentiment among our people for better qualified teachers, for better salaries, for better school-houses, and for better supervision is upward. In connection with this question of teachers I feel that I should state that Alabama has what is considered the best examination law in any of the states taking it as a whole.

School organization in Alabama has always been defective. Under the constitution the public funds must be distributed by counties. Under legislative enactment the school fund must be apportioned to the several townships or districts within the county on a per capita basis. As a result there are in Alabama some townships that have sufficient funds to run their schools nine months in the year, while other townships in the same county have not enough funds to provide a good teacher for even four months of the year. It is hoped that under the workings of the redistricting law passed by the last legislature this condition will be in some degree remedied. Township lines will no longer be arbitrary school district boundaries. Every district will be established according to centers of population and natural barriers. By this law a county board of education is established with power to make rules and regulations governing the schools of the county. A uniform course of study can be prescribed and enforced. Salaries can be regulated and made to conform to the qualifications of the teachers and the character of the work they have to perform. The county superintendent will be no longer a mere disbursing officer but as executive officer of the board of education he will have power to enforce its rulings, and in turn the board of education will have the power to require him to visit the schools and exercise the general duties of a supervisor. The legislature builded wiser than it knew when, after holding this bill during almost the entire session, finally just before adjournment it allowed its passage.

Alabama, gentlemen, has her face turned toward the light. Within the next few years we hope to see established throughout the state a well-sustained, well-organized, well-graded system of public schools, offering to every child an opportunity to prepare

himself for useful living. With this end in view, the superintendent of education is urging upon the citizenship of every county he visits the necessity for local taxation to secure funds with which to maintain the schools, the importance of a well-qualified teaching force to develop the minds and characters of the children, and the need of expert supervision to direct and supervise educational affairs. The reception he has received everywhere leads him to conclude that the people are becoming aroused on the subject of public education.

The State Superintendent of Education of Louisiana, the Hon. James B. Aswell, then spoke as follows:

JAMES B. ASWELL.

Nothing of itself stands alone. The union of spirits produces the great things in life. The forces of this age are two divine spirits, born in heaven and expressed on earth: the one the spirit of democracy, equal privileges; the other, the spirit of universal education, equality of opportunity. They, united, make it impossible for any physical power to avail against the infinite power of such forces. They are nearest the Divine and will live, for mightier than matter is mind, mightier than mind is spirit, mightier than spirit is God.

The revelation to man of his power to create and enjoy the blessings of democracy gave him the first glimpse of the immeasurable wealth that lay within his grasp; but the transformation in the school of poor fallen man, through the development of his God-like faculties into the likeness of his Maker, is the miracle of the ages.

It is good to educate the few, but universal education is the necessity of any permanent civilization. Democracy and universal education are the vitalizing forces of nations. The one is living and helping others live; the other is knowing how to live. No nation lives without them, and nowhere do you find the one enduring without the other. They are interdependent and inseparable.

These are the forces that give strength and courage to the Department of Education in Louisiana to undertake the task, however difficult and serious, of removing from the fair name of the state every stain of illiteracy. There are abundant evidences that the difficulties in the way are not to be overcome without struggle

or pain. We have a small school fund, a mixed population, and two distinct languages; a sparsely settled country with poor roads and insufficient means of transportation; the Mississippi River with its annual floods and expensive levee system, and traces of an aristocratic sentiment against "free schools for the poor." We know that we cannot lay any especial claim to greatness because of past educational achievement, but, in spite of the hardships that we well foresee, there are unmistakable evidences that we are approaching a period of notable activity in educational work.

In this report I am not inclined to give a puny wail because of our trials and discouragements, but rather to speak of our plan of work before which we expect difficulties to disappear and through which we hope to bring new life and power to every child in the state, however poor or neglected.

The Department of Education is not alone in this undertaking. The press of the state is making a gallant stand, ever ready to champion our cause. The people believe that we are now rich enough to have good schools for the children, and that we are too poor not to have them. We believe that we are old enough to go alone to meet any problem, but that we are young enough to receive encouragement and inspiration from the experiences of other states. We believe that we are strong enough to fight our own battles, but that we are weak enough to need the co-operative power that comes from united efforts like this to promote the interest of a common cause. We are proud enough to demand the best, and yet humble enough to be spent in service. We are hopeful enough to stake our lives on the future, and yet cautious enough to handle, as no others can for us, the intricate and delicate questions of our educational life. We are aristocratic enough to believe in the supremacy of our name and blood, and yet democratic enough to stand for equal privileges, and liberal enough to grant equality of opportunity.

That we are vastly rich in undeveloped natural resources, the world well knows, but the important part of the life of a state, as of men, that part which controls, directs and makes great, is not matter but spirit. The state that accepts this truth, that follows the Man of Galilee in uplifting the minds of its people and sacrificing itself, if need be, to give equality of opportunity, grows permanently rich and great. Witness the difference between Spain, the

slave, Scotland, the free; between India, the feeble, and England, the strong; between Africa, the night, and America, the day; and tell me, if you will, what gives this supremacy, unless it be the spirit of democracy made effective and permanent by the growing spirit of universal education.

This spirit has taken hold of our people. I would not have you think that in Louisiana we have just begun our educational life. Many years ago it was begun by Sheib, Boyd and others, while much has been recently accomplished by such men as Heard, Alderman, Boyd, Caldwell, Keeny, Taylor, Dillard, Stephens, and scores of high-school men and women who have responded to every call made upon them for the advancement of public education in the state. But we are conscious to-day, as never before, of a mighty potential energy ready for expression. The hearts of our people have been stirred and their minds so quickened and illumined that they will not rest until good things have been done for the education of their children. And better still, the people are not begging for help, they are ready to do their full duty whenever that duty is made plain to them.

One of the newest and mightiest forces in our educational work is the Federation of Women's Clubs. The last meeting in November was a notable one. Several scholarships were created for girls in the higher institutions of the state, and the federation pledged itself unreservedly to the cause of public education, and I believe that the voice of the women in Louisiana is soon to be heard in no uncertain terms for better schools and school-houses for the children.

With these forces moving the majority of our people, and with Governor-elect Blanchard pledged to the cause of liberal education, a man who has it in his heart to give the children of Louisiana the best educational conditions that money and energy and talent can create, can you wonder that the Department of Education enters upon its work hopeful, confident of a reasonable measure of success?

You have, no doubt, already foreseen some of the things we hope to do. The department, through the institute board, is arranging to hold a one week teachers' institute in every parish of the state between April 1st and October 1st. The institutes will be conducted by the corps of trained school workers, including

the state superintendent of education, several parish superintendents, professors from the universities and industrial schools, teachers from the state normal school, principals of high schools, and several institute specialists from other states. The state superintendent will direct the work of all the institutes, and will attend each one in person for at least one day of the week. With five or six institute faculties at work at the same time it is confidently expected to reach the entire state within three months. Such a campaign for better schools will not only give powerful impetus to the work in those parishes and communities where educational forces are already active, but will serve to awaken interest and stimulate effort in the sections where there has hitherto been little advancement.

This work is a preparation for a larger and more comprehensive campaign for good schools. In a word, we hope to divide the whole state into school districts, and in every district we want, not a *lot*, but an *acre or more* of land on which shall be erected a comfortable school-house equipped with modern furniture and beautified in an artistic manner, so that for eight months in the year the souls of the children may be lifted toward the true dignity of life and living. In this school-house we want not *keepers*, but *teachers*, who live, and love, and feel, and think, and move, whose master touch reveals to the child its kinship with Divinity and leads it to become more like the divine. To supervise the work of these teachers we want one who is not *hired* because he is *cheap*, but a *man* who is *paid* for his services because he is an expert at supervision, and one who is especially fitted for the difficult task of inspiring and supervising the schools.

To secure these results we need money. But behind the getting of money there must be educational sentiment, a feeling of need on the part of the people. We are creating the sentiment, and we will get the money. With the money we will build the schools, and from the schools will come the privileges of democracy and the opportunities of universal education. Then, indeed, will the public schools in Louisiana be the center of life, and hope, and love.

Dr. Charles D. McIver, Member of the Southern Education Board, and President of the State Normal College, Greensboro, N. C., then addressed the Conference as follows:

CHARLES D. McIVER.

In my opinion the majority of the schools of the South need and need badly:

1. Better houses and equipment.
2. Longer terms.
3. Stronger teachers.
4. More effective supervision.

Reducing these needs to a common denominator, we have four distinct calls for more money. Not only is it a call for more now—one time—but for all time. It is a perennial call. And, without discounting the very great value of temporary stimulating funds, it is nevertheless true that no man and no community was ever educated into strength unless the man or the community contributed to the training in self-denying drudgery and otherwise more than was contributed from all outside sources.

It is the salvation of democracy that education cannot be bought or given or inherited or sold, like clothes and what we choose to call real estate. The person educated must contribute more to his education than all others combined, though he cannot do the task alone. Parents, teachers, taxpayers and philanthropists can aid him, but all of them combined cannot educate a man without his consent or without his systematic, patient toil. It is in this sense that every man is the architect of his own fortune.

It is a fact, moreover, that the more we can induce a man to do for himself for his better training the more will he be able to do not only for himself but for others. The principle is as true for communities as it is for men.

In one sense the Southern Education Board has the advantage of any other philanthropic board. It has nothing to give but advice, and has no work except to persuade the judgments and inspire the hearts and consciences of men. Its high mission is to teach adults to know and practise the truth that will make them and their children free.

To persuade a man or a people to tax himself or themselves to the utmost for education is a glorious work. It is teaching them to sell all that they have, if necessary, in exchange for this pearl of great price, and I know that the angels must rejoice over one civic sinner who repents of his selfishness and hatred of taxes



and becomes an enthusiastic supporter of universal education by taxation.

I have introduced my report with these axiomatic and rather platitudinous statements to indicate exactly my point of view in the campaign I have helped to manage during the past two years.

It has been my constant endeavor to persuade men and women to beautify their school-grounds, to build better houses and improve their equipment, and above all, to insist upon having a real teacher in each school-house. As none of these improvements can be brought about in any considerable degree without more money, and as more money can be had only by local taxation, I have made everything else in my plans secondary to honorably securing votes for this fundamental necessity.

I have discussed almost no other question because I wanted the cause of local taxation to become strong enough to have other stronger influences in our public life to seek an alliance with it, and strong enough, too, to make its enemies prefer not to encounter it openly at least.

It has been the plan of our campaign in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia to prevent so far as possible any friction between the State and the denominational colleges, so that every teacher and every partizan of all our institutions might have a good opportunity to become a strong and habitual defender of local taxation for rural schools.

Along with local taxation wherever it has been adopted has come a number of good things, chief among them being the invariable tendency to school consolidation and the building of better and larger houses.

The press, as a rule, is friendly and is glad to announce every improvement in schools. One advantage of a constant campaign running through the entire year is the effect upon leaders of thought, who frequently are really watchers of the press and hasten to lead enthusiastically in whatever direction they see public opinion moving.

In 1880 there were four local tax districts in North Carolina. In 1890 there were nine. In 1900 there were nineteen, and at the end of 1901, when the present systematic campaign was begun, there were fifty-six. To-day there are 195, with the probability of more than one hundred elections, representing every section of

the state, to be held before September. We have lost only about twenty elections during the past two years.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in 1897 every school district in North Carolina voted upon the question of local taxation, and out of the thirteen hundred townships only twelve voted favorably. This was due to several causes, but one of the chief causes was that the teachers had no campaign fund and the question could not be discussed before the people.

I have prepared a local tax map of North Carolina which tells interestingly the story of a great struggle against North Carolina's two ancient enemies—illiteracy and hostility to taxation—and shows how thoroughly the thought of the whole state must have been touched by the 170 elections held, and how that no section of the state has entirely escaped.

It is well to note, however, that the greatest activity has been in Guilford, Mecklenburg and Henderson counties where the General Education Board and the cities of Greensboro and Charlotte agreed to donate \$20,000 as a leverage to promote local taxation in the rural districts of those counties. The only county that rivals these is Dare, in the extreme eastern portion of the state, whose activity can be accounted for by the excellence and energy of its county superintendent, and from the further fact that in 1897 it established three local tax districts. The object lesson has had its effect and borne its natural fruit.

Alamance county, where there have been about ten favorable elections, is the pioneer cotton-mill county of North Carolina, and it has had for a long time one of the best educated men in the state as its county superintendent.

The value of an able county superintendent is well illustrated in Guilford county. On July 1 the most active friends of education there, being exceedingly desirous that the \$8000 raised by citizens of Greensboro and the General Education Board as a bonus to stimulate local taxation should be wisely invested, co-operated with the County Board of Education to secure a well-trained supervisor of teachers. Mr. Thomas A. Sharpe, a native of Mecklenburg county, N. C., and once principal of the Goldsboro, N. C., public high school and until recently superintendent of the Darlington, S. C., public schools, was called from the latter position to become superintendent of schools of Guilford county. He is a trained

trainer of teachers, and is a strong, tactful advocate of local taxation. Since his term of service began July 1, the annual public school fund of Guilford county has been increased by local taxation more than \$3000. His salary is \$1600 a year. I believe that the increase in the annual school fund of Guilford county by taxation will soon be equal to the entire amount contributed as a donation by the General Education Board and the citizens of Greensboro. Twelve school districts in Guilford county have local tax elections now pending.

In North Carolina, as in other states, we have good state leadership and are developing local leadership. The man in the strategic place for educational advancement in the South is the county superintendent. For years to come the teachers of our rural schools must receive their training and inspiration from him, and he must also be a leader of the people in securing local taxation. Statistics will show that rural teachers are not secured, as a rule, from graduates of normal schools or teachers' colleges. Massachusetts is a good and a fair illustration of this fact. Massachusetts has only about 200,000 rural population, whereas North Carolina has only 200,000 urban population. Massachusetts has had one or more normal schools since the days of Horace Mann, the number now being twelve; and yet about 1900 the state's report showed that only 43 per cent. of its teachers in urban and rural schools had any training whatever in a normal school, and that only 36 per cent. of its teachers were graduates of normal schools in Massachusetts or elsewhere.

If the General Education Board, the Peabody Board and the Slater Board and similar philanthropic educational agencies wish to do the greatest service to public schools in the South, I believe that it would pay them to adopt some system of donation by which the county superintendent would be strengthened. Some wise soldier has said that an army of stags led by a lion would accomplish more than an army of lions led by a stag.

If we could have ten county superintendents in each Southern state, equal in culture and power to the best city and state superintendents and with such compensation as would permit them to devote their entire attention to leading the people and instructing the teachers of both races in teachers' institutes or teachers' schools, they would not only revolutionize the schools of the counties they

serve, but the example of these counties would influence every other community in each state. Such superintendents cannot be secured with the present salaries offered by the legally constituted authorities.

During the year just closed I have attended four important conferences. The first in Atlanta, Ga., participated in by teachers, representing the different educational institutions, and other citizens like Hon. Hoke Smith, Bishop Candler, ex-Governor Northern and Governor Terrell. The second conference was at Columbia, S. C., which was attended by the representative educators of the state. In both states an executive committee was appointed to take charge of the educational campaign. In South Carolina this committee consisted of Governor Heyward, State Superintendent O. B. Martin, and President D. B. Johnson of the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College. This committee has carried on an active campaign for school improvement, local taxation and the establishment of libraries. During the year South Carolina, which already had more than two hundred local tax towns and districts, increased this number by forty-three and developed much activity in the direction of school improvement, libraries, and consolidation.

In Georgia at present the hands of the people are tied so far as voting a local tax is concerned by a clause in the constitution, making it necessary to secure the approbation of two grand juries before an election for a special school tax can be held, and then it can be carried only by two-thirds of the registered vote. The last Georgia legislature submitted to the people an amendment to the constitution making it easy to call an election without the consent of the grand jury, and after the adoption of this amendment an election can be carried by two-thirds of the votes cast, which is an easier proposition than a majority of the registered vote. The campaign committee in Georgia of which Chancellor Hill is chairman and State School Commissioner Merritt is manager and Mr. Hoke Smith, Bishop Candler and Superintendent Duggan and ex-Governor Northern are the other members, is making a campaign among the people and in the newspapers which it is believed will guarantee the adoption of the constitutional amendment, and will at the same time have the people in fit mood to adopt local taxation by counties as well as by school districts.

I have kept in constant communication with the managers of these two campaigns, and I believe that all the money used there

has been well invested and that it will bring forth good fruit. South Carolina as well as Georgia is preparing to have some changes in its local tax law, but I do not think it will need a constitutional amendment before moving forward rapidly.

The other two conferences to which I referred were held in North Carolina—one at Greensboro, of prominent North Carolina women interested in our campaign for the improvement of public-school houses, and the other for the leading teachers of the colored race, at Raleigh.

Since at different times during this conference you will hear from representatives of the campaign committees in Georgia and South Carolina, I will not make a more elaborate report for these states.

In my report to the Conference a year ago at Richmond occurs the following paragraph: "Our able state superintendent of public instruction, Hon. J. Y. Joyner, has furnished me with statistics recently secured from most of the counties showing that in those counties there are now 79 towns and cities and rural communities that have a special local school tax, that elections are pending in 45 districts, and that in nearly 100 other communities the question of a local school tax is being considered and agitated with probable elections soon."

To make a comparison, the number of local tax districts is now 194 instead of 79, making an increase of 115 during the year, or nearly 150 per cent. This shows that the local tax advocates won their fight in nearly all of the forty-five districts where elections were pending a year ago and in four-fifths of the one hundred other districts where agitation had then begun. Moreover, there are as many elections pending now as there were a year ago, and there is agitation for elections in as many new districts now as then.

The total number of rural libraries in North Carolina established since our educational campaign began is 800. The aggregate number of volumes in these libraries is about 60,000.

During the past two years the local tax has been voted in 140 districts, about 1200 unnecessary small districts have been consolidated and 884 new school-houses have been built. The school funds have been increased and school terms lengthened, and in some cases the salaries of teachers and the county superintendents have been considerably increased.

This work has been accomplished under the gentle guiding hand of our popular and progressive state superintendent of public instruction, Hon. J. Y. Joyner, enthusiastically and effectively seconded by Governor Charles B. Aycock, that rare man and magnetic educational statesman, and by the assistance of the association of representative educators for the promotion of public education in North Carolina, and the women's association for the improvement of public-school houses and grounds. The part of the Southern Education Board in the work has been the paying of the campaign expenses of workers representing these two organizations. The women's association not only have done much valuable work for the improvement of school houses and grounds, but in many counties they have established as prizes for the most successful teacher in making these improvements scholarships sufficient in amount to pay the expenses of such teachers while attending a summer school.

In conclusion, I wish to submit a matter of general interest—the effect of the loan fund established by the North Carolina legislature a little more than a year ago. Superintendent Joyner is recognized as the father of this scheme, and his statement of the results of its operation at the end of the first year is interesting and suggestive.

The next speaker was Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, Principal of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. His address follows:

#### H. B. FRISSELL.

During the past year an earnest endeavor has been made to rouse the people to the need of educating all the children of the commonwealth. Dr. Robert Frazer, the efficient agent of the Southern Education Board, has gone from county to county addressing large bodies of the people in churches and court-houses. Though his duties as dean of the Columbian Law School in Washington have prevented a continuous work in connection with the Southern Education Board, Hon. H. St. George Tucker has frequently been invited to discuss educational topics in different parts of the state, and has seldom refused. Both of these gentlemen report increasing interest.

Dr. Tucker says: "During the past year I have visited nearly

all of the educational institutions of the state—the University of Virginia, William and Mary College, Roanoke College, the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and Emory and Henry College. I have several times had audiences numbering 5000 people at the Baptist associations. I have been in every section of the state—the Valley, Southwest, Piedmont and Tidewater—and the interest of the people has been beyond my expectations. If there is any opposition, it is offered by a small minority only. I believe that public sentiment is fast crystallizing into a belief of all the people that the education of both races is essential to the prosperity of the state.”

Dr. Frazer reports that he has visited sixty of the one hundred counties of the state, and some of them several times, with the purpose of arousing interest in some practical form of school betterment. He reports improvement along the following lines:

1. “Our general school law has been reconstructed in some measure, and the legislature is still engaged upon plans looking to the increased efficiency of the system.

2. “It is a great thing to have on the state board men competent to take an intelligent view of the whole business of public education, and so free from the bias of political entanglements as to assure a purely patriotic stand on all questions that relate to the welfare of the schools. There is hope in the fact that the new board may be credited with at least two men of this sort.

3. “Encouraging advance has been made also in the work of local supervision. So far as I have been able to observe, the appointing power has been exercised with sharper discrimination; and almost without exception county superintendents of recent appointment are bringing to their important work better qualifications, livelier interest and greater diligence than had hitherto marked the conduct of that office. The wholesome effects are manifest. There are a dozen well-qualified superintendents in the state who give nearly all their time to the schools, notwithstanding that the pay they get is wholly incommensurate with the work they do. And we have half a dozen counties whose schools, as a rule, would compare favorably with the best schools of like grade to be found anywhere. Ten other counties have superintendents who, without special training for their work, are yet earnest in its discharge, and are achieving good results. I know seven others who show a goodly measure of interest in their schools and are doing

what they can with the resources they have. In all of these twenty-nine (29) counties educational affairs are on the up-grade, and the outlook is highly encouraging. Of the remaining seventy-one (71) counties there are ten (10) in which I have no knowledge of school conditions; but it is reasonable to believe that in some of these, too, fairly good work may be found. Another feature worthy of notice is a growing interest in some quarters among the school trustees. I have within the last few weeks heard three of these officers speak in our educational meetings and two of them made strikingly good speeches on the practical conduct of school affairs. The term of office of the present body of superintendents expires June 30th, 1905. After that we may hope for better things all along the line.

4. "The stimulus of educational revival is also reaching the teachers. Three years ago the chief aim set forth in the constitution of the State Teachers' Association was a fuller recognition of the teachers' service in the way of better pay without a word as to better service. Now this is all changed, professional standing through efficient service coming first, and the matter of pay dropping out of view. In the meantime the number of county associations has risen from twenty-three (23) to sixty (60), with an aggregate membership of more than two thousand, being nearly one-third of all the white teachers in our public schools. Besides these county associations seven (7) of our institutions of higher learning have regularly organized associations in affiliation with the state association. When it is borne in mind that a little while ago our public schools were wholly ignored by these higher institutions, and that now the State University makes a point of advertising itself as "the capstone of the public-school system" the situation takes on new meaning.

"The State Association is now concerning itself with a Teachers' Reading Course, looking to instructive and uplifting reading as well as pedagogical training. It has under consideration a scheme for a well-arranged course of study for rural schools, and the matter of high schools in every county is receiving serious study. The district associations hold frequent meetings, and they are proving highly useful in developing a professional spirit among the teachers, and otherwise promoting their efficiency.

"Increasing interest in the work of teaching is seen also in the rapid growth of the State Normal School for Women. Four years



ago this school numbered about two hundred and fifty, or less. It has now largely over five hundred (500) students.

5. "There is improvement, too, in school-houses and school equipment. In many parts of the state we have new buildings that in design and construction would be considered creditable almost anywhere, and their number is steadily increasing. In some counties they have repaired and painted the old houses, and the general average of order and cleanliness is advancing. In a few counties most of the schools have libraries. In others a good beginning has been made, and interest in this important feature of school equipment is spreading.

6. "The work of consolidation has been taken up in a dozen or more counties, and it is steadily gaining favor in the state. Rockingham, one of our largest and wealthiest counties, has probably done most in this direction. This county has now seventeen (17) two-room schools; five schools of three rooms each; four of seven rooms; one with eight; one with six; and one with ten rooms. The county employs one hundred (100) teachers in graded schools; and the people, where a little while ago they were opposing consolidation, are now making petitions for consolidated schools faster than the trustees can build the houses. Where transportation is necessary wagons are employed at \$100 to \$125 per term of seven months. The movement is making noteworthy progress in Accomac county also. The Mearsville graded school of this county is the result of merging four (4) schools into one. It has a handsome modern building, and employs three teachers. The enrolment is largely in excess of that of the four small schools, and a saving of \$218 is effected in the cost of maintenance. The Pungoteague District High School employs five teachers, one of them teaching music. It has a new building with five school-rooms and an assembly hall. The term has been lengthened from six to eight months. Onancock, a village of 700 inhabitants, has a high school with six teachers in the academic work and one teacher of music. These seven teachers do the work formerly done by nine. The excellence of the school has led to the closing of a private academy which employed five teachers. Several outlying schools are soon to be brought in. Music, sewing and basketry are taught, and the term is for nine months. The details here given were gathered from reports made at the late meeting of the State Teachers' Association

held in November at the university. They are given for illustration, not of what is general in the state, but to show the trend of school matters. And they can be duplicated in possibly a dozen counties.

7. "A number of counties have already increased the local levy, no one objecting. The measure seems to be in well-nigh universal favor. In a community in Washington county where by additional levy the local fund had been raised to \$480, a meeting of the people was held for the purpose of supplementing this sum, and in less than twenty minutes \$400 more were raised by voluntary subscriptions. It was also agreed to make the arrangement permanent. In another neighborhood where the public fund allowed a salary of \$35 the amount was raised by private subscription to \$65 a month, thus making the services of a trained teacher available. Buchanan county has recently raised the local tax in every district in the county, to 50 cents on the hundred dollars' worth of property, the maximum rate allowed by law. They have also built in this county a \$6000 house for a central high school and employed trained teachers for it. Other cases like these may be given; but these will adequately set forth the trend of educational sentiment in the state.

8. "In many counties they are extending the school term; and it is quite likely that the forthcoming biennial report of the state superintendent will show an average of nearly seven months.

9. "There is no more hopeful sign for the future of our schools than the improved public sentiment in favor of training for all the youth of the state irrespective of race or condition. Two years ago little was said about the schools. They have come to hold a prominent place among the objects of public concern. Especially noticeable is the changed attitude toward the question of education for the negroes. In half a year or more I have heard only two men utter a word out of sympathy with movements for the best things that education can bring the race; and this notwithstanding that I constantly invite the freest expression of opinion on this as on all subjects relating to public education. And the negroes themselves are beginning to show a more sensible appreciation of schooling, with some readiness to make voluntary contributions for the betterment of their school advantages.

"The interest the Junior Order of American Mechanics is

operative Education Commission, composed of representatives of the leading educational institutions of the state, the governor, superintendent of public instruction, and attorney-general, together with a number of prominent men and women especially interested in the cause of education. The program presented at the first meeting of the commission in Richmond in March included a nine months school for every child; a high school within reasonable distance of every child; well-trained teachers for all public schools; the supervision of schools; the introduction of agricultural and industrial training into the schools; the promotion of libraries and the correlation of public libraries and public schools; schools for the defective and dependent classes; and the organization of a citizens' educational association in every community. Already local associations have been formed in different parts of the state, with committees having in charge the improvement of school grounds, the decoration of school-houses, and the holding of public educational meetings. The aim of these committees is to make the school the center of community life throughout the state. In July, during the session of the School of Methods at the University of Virginia, a public meeting was held under the auspices of the commission where the objects of the organization were set forth by leading educators of the state. Professor Kent of the university presided and the heads of a number of the prominent educational institutions made addresses indorsing the plans of the commission. It is planned to hold similar meetings in various parts of the state during the winter. The cordial co-operation of the colleges and churches, as well as the press, in this movement is one of its hopeful features.

After an address by Dr. Charles W. Dabney, President of the University of Tennessee, Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, member of the Southern Education Board and President of Tulane University, New Orleans, La., was introduced by the president of the conference. Said Dr. Alderman:

## EDWIN A. ALDERMAN.

Many years ago Ernest Renan made an attack upon the doctrine of democracy, declaring that the highest point of a civilization should constantly become higher, not that the general level should constantly be raised. That was plainly the ideal of aristocracy. Our American thought for good or ill is the ideal of democracy—the constant raising of the general level—and we can only progress in directions consistent with that ideal. This ideal makes all progress more difficult, but not impossible, and when achieved very much stronger, broader, and more permanent than any progress that nations have yet known of.

The chief function of this board has been to aid and abet the sort of democratic sentiment that guards, first and foremost, the conditions about its own home, the education of its children and the elevation of its standard of life. All of my activities, therefore, as the director of this board, since April, 1902, have been devoted to promoting, invigorating and sustaining the natural impulses of the people of this region toward the creation and maintenance of an adequate school system for the children of all the people, high and low, white and black. The task resolves itself, to my mind, in this form:

1. The development of an irresistible public opinion for popular education by popular effort.
2. The crystallization of this sentiment into money, largely through local taxation.
3. The birth of a larger and finer conception of the duties and responsibilities of school-teachers and school-officers and of the part played in the training of communities by comfortable and beautiful school-houses.

In former reports I think I have sufficiently detailed the scope, the method and machinery devised for the prosecution of these ends, and also the obstinate difficulties in the way of their accomplishment. I shall address myself to-day to a brief statement of the results of educational activity in my region during the past two years with the understanding that these results must not be thought of as due solely to the activities of the Southern Education Board. Much of these results would have come to pass if there had been no board, let us concede. But it is just to claim that this board has

stimulated and encouraged and made more efficient every activity at work during this period. The campaign actively in Louisiana since June, 1902, may be summarized as follows:

	Meetings.	Addresses.
Under Himes as agent.....	30	70
Under Steele as secretary.....	27	38
Under Alleman as secretary .....	51	83
Without aid from Campaign Committee, but probably very much stimulated by it .....	100	150
Director and miscellaneous.....	60	60
Totals.....	268	401

This includes a special campaign planned last summer, covering nineteen parishes in the state, in which were engaged forty-five of the leading men of the state in education, politics, religion and in industrial life. Two thousand copies, *Southern Education, Louisiana Edition*, were distributed as a campaign text-book, and one thousand copies of "Some Problems of the Rural Schools," on the consolidation of schools have been distributed.

In regard to the education of the negro, the policy of the director of this campaign has been simply to claim that it is the policy of the Southern States, embodied in their Constitution, to educate the negro, and that it is the solemn duty of the advanced group of people in these states to find the right sort of training for the negro, and to give to him every chance that training can give a man to make of himself a useful and effective member of the community. In all of our movements we have been earnestly and heartily assisted by the pulpit, the press, the educational associations and all the organized forces of public sentiment. In nineteen parishes out of fifty-nine the increase from all sources in the past two years has been \$243,781 in income and \$165,000 in equipment, a total of \$409,741.

Increase in income .....	\$243,781
New school-houses (72 in 16 parishes) .....	136,000
Repairs and furnishings .....	29,000

Grand total for 19 parishes for two years ..... \$409,741

While these parishes have been the most active, we are certain

that there has been much done in the other parishes, from which no relative data could be obtained. Thirty-three districts have been consolidated in six parishes, and nine are contemplating it in the early future.

The following shows the increase of the state for the year 1903:

Increase in state apportionment.....	\$250,000
Increase from 19 parishes in income and equipment..	409,741
Estimate from 40 other parishes.....	120,000

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Total increase for the year 1903..... \$779,741

Increase for year 1902.....	\$239,000
Increase for year 1903.....	779,741

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Total increase of school fund, 1902-1903.. \$1,018,741

From the state superintendent's report for the year ending December 31, 1902, I quote the following:

"There are, I think, no less than thirty-five parishes in which special taxes have been voted by the people, and I consider that the total amount of funds raised from this source of revenue throughout the state is no less than \$200,000 a year. This amount added to the excess of \$179,000 shown by the treasurer's annual report for the year 1902 makes a total increase in the school revenue for the year 1902 of \$379,000 over that of 1901—that is, if the special taxes now levied were collected also during the year 1902. The fund from this source of revenue (the special tax) is increasing every year, for the people of several parishes are getting into the habit of contributing voluntarily to the support of their schools. I look forward with hope to the time in the very near future when every rural school in the state will be mainly supported by local taxes voluntarily paid by patrons in the respective settlements."

It will be noticed that the estimate (special tax) furnished by me for the two years is very much below the estimate of the state superintendent for special taxes for 1902 alone. The probability is that the truth lies somewhere between the two estimates. The progress for 1903 has certainly been greater than that of 1902. There is no doubt about that, and I believe if the whole truth were known, the increase of the two years ending December 31, 1903, would amount to considerably over a million.

Again, to quote from the same report of the state superintendent:

"In closing this report, I am happy to state that the friends of education are more numerous and more earnest than at any other period in the history of the state. Encouragement is heard from all sides. The pulpit, the press, the associations, and all the organs of public sentiment are united in their efforts to encourage the work of our schools and to diffuse the blessings of education among all classes of people."

The superintendent might have truthfully added that the greatest factor in bringing about the results which he has so vividly set forth has been the Committee for the Promotion of Education in Louisiana.

The following shows the remarkable progress made in Lafayette parish during the two years ending December 31, 1903.:

	1901	1903
Parish superintendent's salary .....	\$200	\$1200
Total school fund .....	\$16,000	\$30,000
Special taxes for schools .....	\$10,000	\$24,000
Trained Teachers employed .....	2	22
Average salary paid teachers .....	\$39	\$47
Police jury appropriations .....	\$4000	\$7000
Corporation tax, town of Lafayette .....		\$3000
Teachers employed .....	41	55
Comfortable, modern school-houses, rural .....		6
Average cost of school-houses, rural .....	\$200	\$1000
(\$1000 is the average cost of the six new school-houses built in rural districts.)		
Number of schools with modern desks .....	2	12
Attendance .....	900	2000
Amount of money raised by contributions, entertainments, etc. ....		\$4000

The general summary of results as evidenced by the returns from the nineteen parishes is as follows:

	Districts.
Special taxes voted before Jan. 1, 1902, 4 years .....	138
Special taxes voted since Jan. 1, 1902, 19 parishes, 2 years .....	130
Total number of districts reported .....	268

The vital points in this whole statement of results are these:

The total increase in the school fund for Louisiana for the two years 1901-1903 is \$1,018,741. Both the state superintendent, Hon. J. V. Calhoun, and the secretary of this campaign, Mr. L. J. Alleman, state that this does not include the full returns from thirty-five parishes in which special taxes have been voted by the people amounting to a total of \$200,000, \$80,000 of which is not included in this estimate.


In my judgment all this is most favorable. The new administration has come into office in Louisiana, pledged on every stump in the state to the idea of promoting the education of all the people in Louisiana. The retiring government has been consistent, and devoted and earnest in this work for education, but the new government has a singular opportunity to revolutionize the educational life of Louisiana. The state superintendent, whom you know, is a teacher of youth and enthusiasm and power. The governor has shown in a thousand utterances his understanding and his conviction of this great question of statesmanship. I consider the present time a revolutionary time in the educational life of Louisiana. These men know their task and are determined to carry it through to great results.

The work of the future is:

1. To conduct campaigns in parishes of Louisiana where the school term exists for five or six months.
2. To prepare a new school law for Louisiana embodying consolidation as a law and strengthening the whole system through legislation.
3. Infinite care as to the appointments of the parish boards of education.

The immediate work of the Campaign Committee of Louisiana has been somewhat hindered by a political campaign, but this was apparent rather than real, for this whole campaign has been a campaign of education. Every speaker of whatever side devoted a large portion of his time to a discussion of education, which is a most hopeful sign in our political life.

Permit me to express my appreciation of the able services of Mr. L. J. Alleman of Lafayette parish, who has acted as executive secretary of the campaign committee, to the retiring superintendent, Mr. J. V. Calhoun, to Presidents Aswell and Caldwell, and many others whom I cannot mention.





I do not believe that so small a sum of money spent by any board in stimulating the educational activities of the people has ever achieved such splendid results in the history of money spending. The educational awakening in Louisiana during the past two years has been phenomenal. An overpowering public sentiment has been aroused. The people want schools and are willing to pay for them.

During the months of June, July and August the State Institute Board of Louisiana proposes holding a one week teachers' institute in every parish of the state. It is intended that these institutes shall not only act as occasions to give instruction to teachers, but as occasions of great public gatherings and opportunities for stimulating effort in sections where there has hitherto been little advancement. It is my purpose, with the consent of this board, to put into this movement all of the available resources of the board in order that the entire state may feel in an organized way the effects of a sharp, intense and earnest campaign.

The result of campaign operations in Mississippi has been even more surprising than those of Louisiana. The state superintendent of Mississippi, Hon. H. L. Whitfield, who is a member of this Conference here, will speak for himself in a much stronger way than I could speak for him, but there are such vital facts connected with educational activity in Mississippi that I must call your attention to them. Mississippi is now levying two and a half millions of dollars for education, and at the last session of the legislature 75 per cent. of all appropriations were for education.

At the beginning of the campaign three counties and seventy-four separate school districts were levying local taxes. Now thirty-six counties and ninety-two separate districts are levying local taxes for schools. The annual increase in the state apportionment has been \$555,000. The average term of the rural schools has increased from ninety to one hundred and twenty-three days. The average pay of the teachers has increased something over four dollars per month. More liberal school legislation—(a) A law has been passed increasing the salaries of the county superintendents 40 per cent. (b) The legislature has removed restriction on local taxes as to taxes levied for schools. (c) Maximum salary of the rural teachers has been raised from \$55 to \$65. (d) Giving local boards the power to largely increase appropriations for

school-houses. Stimulating effects on teachers:—Large increase is shown in the number of teachers attending summer schools and institutes. Every county has a county teachers' association, whereas, before this movement only a few of the counties had such an organization. The number of school-houses built and improved has been largely in excess of any ten years' period heretofore.

Immediately following Dr. Alderman's report the Conference took a recess until the evening.

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## SECOND DAY.

### EVENING SESSION.

The Conference was called to order by the president, shortly after 8 p. m., in the Jefferson Theatre. The first speaker to be introduced was Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, Professor of English in the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., who spoke on the subject of "Industrialism and Literature."

### C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

No one needs to be told that the age in which we live is pre-eminently an industrial age. We read it in countless newspapers; we hear it in the whirl of machinery; we see it in the evidences of material prosperity all about us; and we are made to feel it in a certain practical way of looking at things and a certain business way of doing things, both of which are characteristically American.

In no other part of the country has industrial progress been so marked of late as in the South, and nowhere else does this progress present so striking a contrast to the pre-existing order of things. There are men in this audience still in the prime of life who remember when the South was almost wholly agricultural; but since 1870 so swift have been her strides in manufacturing enterprise that statistics become obsolete before they can be tabulated. The output of manufactured cotton goods will at the present rate be more than doubled in four years, and even if this astonishing progress is maintained it will be thirty years before the South will manufacture all the cotton that she raises, and during those thirty years not only will the cotton crop increase, but the needs of the world in the matter of cotton goods will presumably increase in like ratio.

When we add to this the proposed construction of the Panama canal and the industrial advantages that must accrue thereby to the South, the man is not to be envied whose pulse does not quicken and whose imagination does not kindle at the vista that stretches before us.

'Tis a South whose gaze is cast  
Not wholly on the past,  
But whose bright eyes the skies of promise sweep,  
Whose feet in paths of progress swiftly leap,  
And whose fresh thoughts, like cheerful rivers, run  
Through odorous ways to meet the morning sun.

But there are many excellent persons, chiefly from the ranks of literary men and teachers of literature, who see in our industrial progress a menace to our literary life. They believe that as industrialism advances literature must necessarily decline; that we cannot serve two masters, and that literature is destined to go down in the struggle with its stronger and coarser antagonist.

This view of an inherent antagonism between literature and industrialism implies a radical misconception of both. Industrialism is not materialism, nor is it utilitarianism. These are theories of life, while industrialism is a means of living. Viewed as a whole, industrialism is the subsistence of the race on the least expenditure of time and labor. It is the matrix that holds within itself the possibility of all other activities. It is the substructure of society, and conditions its modes of self-expression.

The peril of possible degeneration into materialism or utilitarianism is more than counterbalanced by the immediate and permanent benefits that industrialism confers. Industrialism brings in its train a sense of popular independence and solidarity that are as bulwarks in periods of national crisis. It means development of natural resources; it means emancipation from the temporal needs that threaten and thwart the genius of literature; it means happy homes and diffused contentment; it means wealth, and wealth means more free schools, longer terms, and more efficient service; wealth means not necessarily more universities, but stronger and more adequately endowed universities. Away with the idea that we must deindustrialize a nation; that we must hush the hum of its myriad activities, before the muse of literature will deign to alight!

But the conception of literature in the supposed antithesis between it and industrialism is no less perverted. These guardians of literature, pure and undefiled, would not only materialize industrialism—they would unduly etherealize literature. They would devitalize it. They establish their antithesis by accentuating the mechanical trend of the one, the transcendental trend of the other. But the literature that is too finicky and anæmic to live in an industrial age does not merit to live in any age. "The purpose of literature," says Morley, "is to bring sunshine into our hearts and to drive moonshine out of our heads."

Literature is not handicapped by the division of men into employer and employee; she makes her appeal to all alike. Says one of our poets:

I believe that in all ages  
Every human heart is human.

And wherever the human heart is human literature proffers her guidance and offers her ministrations.

It cannot be too strongly urged that literature is the expression of life, and that the more full, free, rich, varied and abundant life is, the more full, free, rich, varied and abundant will the literature be. The dramatists of Elizabeth's reign did not create the vital energy of their time. They reflected it. They interpreted it. They were not the fountains, they were the reservoirs. New opportunities, new discoveries, new occupations, had opened new vistas, and literary greatness went hand in hand with material prosperity.

Let us never forget that literature means life in all its vastness, in all its complexity, in all its grades. When Queen Victoria told Tennyson how much comfort she had found in "In Memoriam" when called upon to mourn the death of her husband, Prince Albert, she gave no better illustration of the scope and function of literature than did the poor washerwoman who pasted Longfellow's lines on "Maidenhood" above her washtub and who, as she bent over her daily task, lifted her soul back to the level of faith and hope and purity so lovingly sung by the poet. When Tennyson died, clasping in his hand Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," he furnished no better illustration of the scope and function of literature than did the begrimed miners of Newcastle who came up from their sunless haunts to stop Longfellow's carriage, to grasp his hand and say "God bless you for writing 'The Psalm of Life.'"


It is therefore in their joint relation to human need that literature and industrialism find their immutable reconciliation. Antagonism can exist only when literature loses its grip on life or when industrialism degenerates into mammonism.

No more striking confirmation of the view that I advocate could be furnished than the fact that every great industrial era in English and American history has been at the same time pre-eminently a literary era. As this fact has been hitherto overlooked, let me call briefly to your attention the three great industrial periods of modern times. I shall merely sketch these periods, leaving to you the pleasure of filling in the outlines at your leisure. The facts are undisputed and may be found in any up-to-date history of modern industrialism.

The first industrial revolution came in the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603.) All through the middle ages the little country of Flanders, just across the channel from England, had been the manufactory of Europe. England did not manufacture her own wool; she sent it to Flanders, to be received back in fine textile goods. Flanders made the profits and England paid the freights. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for reasons which I need not enumerate, Flemish refugees came to England, taught the English peasantry their industrial arts, and, for the first time, England ceased to be dependent on Flanders and became herself a wool manufacturing country. This economic change is of vast significance, and the parallel between the industrial conditions of Elizabeth's reign and the industrial conditions in the South since 1870 is full of interest and suggestiveness. In this parallel cotton replaces wool, for cotton did not then figure in English history as an industrial factor.

The manufacturing population was not confined to the English towns, but spread all over the country. Even North England, which had lagged far behind South England (here we must reverse our parallel), now showed signs of intense industrial activity and entered into healthy competition with the more southern sections. Of course it was all domestic manufacture; it was handiwork. But England increased rapidly in wealth, in commercial power, in all that constitutes material prosperity.

The keels of Elizabeth's bold freebooters, Raleigh, Drake, Frobisher and Hawkins, vexed all seas and brought treasures from



all shores. Sir Thomas Gresham founded the first Royal Exchange. England felt as never before the thrill of a new industrial life and the thrill of a rounded nationalism born of industrial freedom. I have often thought that when Shakespeare spoke of "this precious stone set in the silver sea, this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England," there passed before his eye not only a vision of armed and warlike England girt by fearless defenders, but a vision of happy English homes filled with the peace and contentment that spring from self-supporting toil.

Elizabeth's reign was, then, peculiarly an industrial epoch. I need not tell you that her reign was and is the glory of English letters. It is needless to rehearse those illustrious names that will perish only with the language that you and I speak. My purpose is merely to show that in this wonderful period literature found not a foe but a friend in industrialism. Both were the products of a common national awakening; and industrialism, by deepening the sense of national power and greatness, contributed to literature, for a nation's literature is but the expression of the national self-consciousness.

Let us pass now to another industrial revolution nearer our own time. In 1775 a memorable date in our own history, James Watt began the manufacture of steam-engines. The change from the domestic system of industrialism to the modern method of production by machinery and steam-power was sudden and violent. Before the year 1800 all the great inventions of Watt, Arkwright, Fulton and Hargreaves had been completed, and the modern factory system had begun. The writers on industrial history tell us that "England increased her wealth tenfold and gained a hundred years' start in front of the nations of Europe." In fifteen years (1788-1803) the cotton trade trebled itself.

Of course vigorous protests were made against this spirit of rampant industrialism. Thomas De Quincey, then only fifteen years of age, complained in 1800 that he could not stir out of doors without being "nosed by a factory, a cotton bag, a cotton dealer, or something else allied to that detestable commerce." The Jeremiahs and Cassandras believed that everything was going to the "demnition bowwows."

But what was literature doing? She was witnessing a renaissance second only to that of "the spacious times of great Eliza-

beth." So far from being materialized she passed into her romantic period, her liberal era. This was the age that nourished Keats, Shelley, Byron, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Burns and Burke. In a love of nature that made all seasons seem as spring, in devotion to democratic ideals, in variety of range and intensity of feeling, this period takes precedence of Elizabeth's reign. The literary outburst can best be described in Coleridge's lines:

And now 'twas like all instruments,  
Now like a lonely flute;  
And now it was an angel's song  
That makes the heavens be mute.

It was of this age that Wordsworth said:

Joy was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven.

There has been but one other great industrial era marked by wide-reaching discovery and fruitful invention. It falls within the fifteen years from 1830 to 1845. Those years are the storage-battery of the industrial, and also of the literary forces that have shaped our Victorian era. In those years railroads first began to intersect the land, telegraph lines were first stretched and the ocean was crossed for the first time by steam-propelled vessels. All of these mechanical triumphs tended to annihilate time and space. The products of manufacture could now be sent with despatch to the most distant quarters. Nations came closer together. The two hemispheres became and have continued one vast arena of industrial interchange. Even Tennyson catches the industrial inspiration, and in 1842 celebrates in the same breath the glories of invention and the triumphs of commerce:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;  
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales.

But let us look at the purely literary record of these mechanical and industrial years. Every student knows that the English writers who have dominated the literary life of our Victorian era, and who bid fair to dominate many decades of our present century, are Tennyson, Browning and Mrs. Browning in poetry; Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot in fiction; Ruskin and Carlyle in mis-

cellaneous literature. Every one of these writers rose to prominence between 1830 and 1845. Before 1830 they were unknown; by 1845 not to know them was to confess inexcusable ignorance.

It is equally noteworthy that in 1830, with the single exception of Washington Irving's work, we had no distinctive literature in America; but in 1845 we were represented by Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson and Holmes, the six names that have given the New England states their incontestable supremacy in American literature.

But why did not the South respond to this last literary and industrial movement? Why did she wait until 1870? Because in 1830 her energies began to be more and more absorbed in defense of her constitutional views and of her cherished institutions. The year 1830, that ushered in the era of opportunity to others, witnessed the memorable debate between Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster—the most significant contest that the senate of the United States has ever seen. It was the opening canon of a struggle that was to end only on the field of Appomattox. Sectional lines began to be drawn closer and closer. The South was thrown more and more on the defensive. She was shut in more and more from outside influences. Her industrial system, based on slave labor, stood as a barrier to the new industrial movement; and the enforced defense of this system, together with the political problems and prejudices that it engendered, threw literature into the background and brought oratory and statesmanship to the front.

But a change soon came, and the old South proved that in her hand the sword was mightier than the pen. Defeated though she was, she has accepted the arbitrament of battle and, with an acquiescence as beautiful as it is rare, she thanks the God of battles that slavery is no more. She has adjusted herself to the changed conditions, and with the adjustment there has come a broader and more varied life.

The new South inherits the virtues of the old, for she is the child of the old. She will listen to no praise, she will accept no honors, that must be bought by repudiation of her past. As she looks toward the future with courage in her heart and confidence on her brow, she yet cherishes above price the stainless and knightly heritage that the old South has bequeathed to her.



With new economic ideas, with an ever-increasing development of her natural resources, with a more flexible industrial system, a more rational attitude toward labor and more enlightened methods of education, there has come a literary inspiration impossible before; and the year 1870, which statisticians take as the birth year also of our new industrial movement, has more than made amends for the year 1830. The words which Sidney Lanier wrote to his wife in 1870 reflect the nascent promise of the time: "Day by day . . . a thousand vital elements rill through my soul. Day by day the secret deep forces gather which will presently display themselves in bending leaf and waxy petal and in useful fruit and grain."

Those words were hardly written before Irwin Russell, of Mississippi, opened a new province to American literature by his skilful delineations of negro character. Two years later Maurice Thompson is hailed by Longfellow as "a new and original singer, fresh, joyous and true." In 1875 Sidney Lanier attains national fame, and the six years of life that remained to him were to be filled with bursts of imperishable song. In 1876 Joel Chandler Harris annexed the province that Irwin Russell had discovered and "Uncle Remus" quietly assumed a place in the world's literature of humor and folklore never filled till then. Two years later Miss Murfree, better known as Charles Egbert Craddock, began to sketch the illiterate mountaineers of East Tennessee. The decade closed with the appearance in letters of George W. Cable, whose "Grandissimes," however questionable as local history, is unquestionable as literature.

The next decade, that from 1880 to 1890, witnessed the advent of Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, and James Lane Allen, of Kentucky. But I need not call the roll further. Suffice it to say, that in 1888 (*Forum* for December) ex-Judge Albion W. Tourgee, who cannot be charged with undue Southern sympathies, declared that a foreigner studying the current magazine literature of the United States "without knowledge of our history, and judging our civilization by our fiction, would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America." What a literary revolution do these words indicate!

In this connection, let me call attention to the purely literary significance of the Civil War. It is a truism to say that the war

meant far more to the South than to the North. To the North it meant the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union. To the South it meant decimated families, smoking homesteads, and the passing forever of a civilization unique in human history. But literature loves a lost cause, provided honor be not lost.

Hector, the leader of the defeated Trojans, Hector the warrior, slain in defense of his own fireside, is the most princely figure that the Greek Homer has portrayed. The Roman Virgil is proud to trace the lineage of his people, not back to the victorious Greeks, but on to the defeated Trojans. England's greatest poet laureate finds his amplest inspiration not in the victories of his Saxon ancestors over King Arthur, but in King Arthur himself and his peerless Knights of the Round Table, vanquished though they were in battle. And so it has always been: the brave but unfortunate reap always the richest measure of literary immortality.

More than two thousand years ago Leonidas and his 300 Spartans dared to confront the countless hordes of Xerxes. Defeated? Annihilated! But on the pages of the world's literature and wherever heroic hearts respond to heroic deeds, Leonidas and his brave 300 still stand outlined against that Grecian sky, an incentive to valor. Fifty years ago Lord Cardigan and his fearless 600 made the immortal charge at Balaklava. Defeated? Annihilated! But on the pages of the world's literature and wherever heroic hearts respond to heroic deeds, Lord Cardigan and his dauntless 600 are riding yet. Forty years ago Pickett and his devoted followers made their heroic charge at Gettysburg. Defeated? Annihilated! But the time is coming—it is nearly here—when on the pages of the world's literature and wherever heroic hearts shall respond to heroic deeds, Pickett and his peerless band shall charge and charge forever.

Do you remember that tender scene in *King Lear*, where Cordelia stands in the presence of her father, despised, disinherited, forsaken? As her cowardly suitor slinks from the room because Cordelia's inheritance has been lost, the King of France steps forward and on bended knee says:

Fairest Cordelia, that art most rich, being poor;  
Most choice, forsaken; and most loved, despised;  
Thee and thy virtues here I seize upon;  
Be it lawful, I take up what's cast away.

And so when brave men have fought for the right, as God gave them to see the right, but fought in vain; when great orators have pleaded for justice, as God gave them to understand justice, but pleaded in vain; when the bugles call no more; when the banners are tattered and trailing; when the shouts of victory are forever hushed, and the *miserere* of defeat is chanted over the graves of a buried army; when all, all, is lost save honor, it is then that the muses of poetry and song stoop from their celestial heights and lift the dear old lost cause up, up, into the unchanging realm of literature.

Thus if history means anything, it means that, as the years go by, American literature is to be more and more permeated by Southern history, Southern traditions, and Southern idealism. "The tender grace of a day that is dead" is ours and ours forever. The South is destined to play an influential part in the development of American industrialism; she is destined to play a greater part in the molding of American literature.

I have tried to make clear but one truth: Literature and industrialism are but different phases of a nation's activity. While each remains true to its goal there can be no antagonism, but only the frankest concord and the heartiest co-operation. Industrialism is the body, literature the spirit. In Browning's words:

Let us not always say  
 "Spite of this flesh to-day  
 I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"  
 As the bird wings and sings,  
 Let us cry, "All good things  
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul."

At the conclusion of Professor Smith's address, the president of the Conference introduced Dr. J. B. Henneman, professor in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. The subject of Dr. Henneman's paper was "Standards of Admission to Southern Colleges." He said:

J. B. HENNEMAN.

I trust that I shall be pardoned if I take my subject as the occasion for suggesting a line of thought which is related, rather than for entering upon a technical discussion which, however im-

portant for a group of schoolmen, surely would seem too pedantic in this presence.

It is interesting to outline, however briefly, the history of the movement for a more formal entrance examination for colleges and to connect it with the history of secondary education in the Southern states of the Union—a more far-reaching subject than many of us, associated with one particular corner and one particular pet institution, however honorable, commonly suppose it to be. One thing we must recognize clearly at the outset. A movement extending over a wide territory and possessing countless ramifications is never the result alone of any single man's endeavor and single institution's work, however important and necessary the work of the individual is in the chain of development and in the service of propagandism. It is the concurrent and united work of a number of forces operating usually through many channels and a long succession of time.

Starting with the latest expression of this interest, what was felt to be the great importance of uniform entrance requirements was the primary cause of the organization of the Association of Schools and Colleges in the Southern States at the time of the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, an association which in its history of nine years has done untold good in making clear the distinction between school and college work and in crystallizing sentiment on this point. This association was the result of a call by one whom I am proud to name as my earliest instructor in the classics at college, now Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt University, than whom no one person has labored more zealously and untiringly in the last ten years for the important cause of educational efficiency. But he, too, would cordially recognize that there were earnest men scattered over the country working earnestly to better conditions in their respective localities and institutions. From Virginia to Missouri and Texas there have been a number of conscientious private and public school and college men, some of them never officially connected with any association of schools and colleges, personally wrestling with the problems in their immediate section and contributing their part to a common educational movement extending through many years.

As a mere illustration which by no means stands alone, I take the institution which I have the honor to represent, the University

of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn. Sewanee, as a rule, has had quite other ideals than the pedagogical one of producing preparatory school-teachers in any number and has rather been inclined to pursue literary, social, and culture ends for themselves. And yet, even if she had wished to, she hasn't been able to keep from exercising some influence on this movement as on some others. The Sewanee Grammar School; St. Matthew's School in Dallas, Texas; the San Antonio West Texas Military Academy; the new military school projected for the Arsenal at Columbia, Tenn.; a number of schools for young women, particularly in North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee; and the labors of other preparatory school workers South and North, have all felt the influence of Sewanee training and endeavor. Least of all should I forget the efforts made to build up the illiterate mountain white population at her very doors—industrially, educationally and spiritually. And be it remembered that the late revered chancellor of the University of the South, Bishop Dudley of Kentucky, was one of the original members and organizers of the Conference for Education in the South, and was always interested in the educational and spiritual welfare of the negroes; and a Sewanee graduate is the efficient and indefatigable secretary of the Southern Education Board, Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy.

Similar lists could easily be made connected with other institutions, so general has this movement been. I am tempted to take one other illustration, a small colonial college in Virginia, Hampden-Sidney, which I had the honor to be connected with in my first professorship. This excellent example of the small college limiting itself to genuine college work, and which has never belonged to any association outside of its state, so far as I know, has for one hundred and thirty years done its good work quietly, has turned out men who have become university chancellors, college presidents, college professors, principals and teachers of schools, beyond number—I recall the first Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Dr. Garland; President Dabney of the University of Tennessee; President Denny of Washington and Lee; Chairmen Venable and Thornton of the University of Virginia, etc., etc.—and has to-day a body of alumni at the head of flourishing schools whose main object is to prepare boys for college, from Washington, D. C., to St. Louis, Mo. Also

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the Randolph-Macon system of schools and colleges in Virginia is well known.

The work in the Southern states of the upper Mississippi Valley had received special impetus ten years before the organization of the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges through the labors of another whom I honor as a former teacher while I was a student at Woffard College, in South Carolina. In the autumn of 1884, Prof. Charles Foster Smith, then also Professor at Vanderbilt University, published his essay on "The Colleges and Schools in the South," in *The Atlantic Monthly*. The immediate result of Professor Smith's personal efforts was the rise of a number of excellent preparatory schools in Tennessee and the Middle South, a movement still continuing. From that day, beginning with Professor Smith's initiative, to this, Vanderbilt University has been notably fortunate in possessing a large number of strong preparatory schools as "feeders," and has been as consistent in the rigidity and strength of her entrance requirements.

In the *Atlantic* essay Professor Smith not only spoke cordially of, but emphasized the preparatory work, even then organized and splendidly exemplified in Virginia. For in the momentous twenty years back even of Professor Smith's essay, the trying twenty years of internal disturbance and reconstruction, from 1865 to 1885, it ought not to be overlooked now, and certainly was not by Professor Smith then, that the system of preparatory school education in the South, fitting for higher college and university work, was almost wholly in the hands of Virginia-trained men—trained oftenest at the University of Virginia, but also frequently at other Virginia institutions. It is hardly too much to say that during these twenty suffering years the traditions of sound preparatory training were not merely kept alive but never more emphasized than by the ideals and labors of such men as Gildersleeve, Price, Wheeler, Venable, Peters, Mallett, Francis H. Smith, Noah K. Davis, and others at the University of Virginia, seconded by famous preparatory schools like Gordon McCabe's in Petersburg, Blackford's at the Episcopal High School near Alexandria; Abbott's at Bellevue; Col. Jones's at Hanover Court-house, etc.


This system of training men and sending them out over the country to do sound preparatory work has continued from that day to this, as the "University Schools" (due to the direct initiative

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of the faculty of the University of Virginia), scattered in every state of the South, bear witness. Doing always splendid work and giving continually a great impetus to the founding of sound and strong preparatory schools, it is possibly unfortunate, as a mere co-ordinating system, that, owing to the absence of "college classes," the University of Virginia has somewhat confused what was long her own special vogue, by dispensing with the formal entrance examinations even for Virginia students; although by reason of traditions and well-known standards, the results actually obtained are by no means chaotic, as might theoretically be supposed. Also it must not be forgotten that there were then historic schools like Bingham's and Horner's in North Carolina and Dr. Turner Porter's in Charleston, S. C.; and the Webbs of Tennessee, like two of the three founders of Sewanee, and like Presidents Alderman and McIver, belonging to a later generation, were alumni of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. And other institutions in other parts of the South have sent out efficient workers.

Again, I should do wrong did I not emphasize the remarkable growth and increased efficiency in the best public high schools of the South in the last two decades, and the interest state universities like those of Missouri, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee and North Carolina have taken in developing these schools. Though the public schools proved ruinous to many private and classical schools, without at first substituting anything so good, this should be only a temporary phase, and we may take heart. To those inclined to decry the work of the public schools I can but recall the words of President Eliot of Harvard, borne out thoroughly by my own experience of seven years at the University of Tennessee, where perhaps the majority of the students came from the public schools. President Eliot has declared that the graduates of the public schools over the country average fully as high in every particular at Harvard as those who enter from the private schools. The same eminent authority, in an address given last winter in Philadelphia, is the source of the statement that the city of St. Louis has the best public-school system in the United States. This is not so far from our own special territory as to be devoid of interest and of self-application.

As one who graduated nearly twenty years ago and has been a close observer and a conscious participator in this movement



and in this work in three different states—in South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, two renowned for their historic traditions and the number of educators they have furnished to the nation, and two for their active educational interest—also as one who has been so fortunate as to have former pupils engaged in this preparatory work in every state from Virginia to Texas, I cheerfully pay these personal tributes.

The general principles of entrance examinations to colleges I outline in the briefest manner, as it is needless to enter here upon the details. In results, the ideals are that students shall obtain a certain mental development and intellectual training in the school before undertaking college work. Further, that this added college training is highly desirable and valuable both for further developing latent powers in the growing man and for purposes of a real culture, before the man, now at least twenty-one, and frequently more, enters upon graduate and professional work. For it is important that these three grades in our educational system—preparatory school, college, and graduate or professional—should be kept clear and distinct.

What shall the school-boy be prepared on in order to enter upon this intermediate college work which in turn shall develop and broaden him and give him a sound basis for a better culture and for entrance upon professional study? Such a school-boy is carefully prepared in at least four studies, and in favorable cases in five; for when he enters college he immediately takes up higher work certainly in four branches, and may either begin work in a fifth, or, if well prepared, he may also do higher work in that fifth. What shall these studies be? By a general consensus of opinion: English and mathematics, of course; two foreign languages (whether ancient or modern, though, in any culture course surely one ought to be Latin); and finally, either history or science. When only four subjects are given in the schools, it is usually the languages that suffer, though the earnest teacher seeks to get the requisite amount of work and training by additional demands in mathematics or science or other subject. For example, if both languages taught are modern, *i. e.*, if neither Latin nor Greek is studied, then both history and science, in addition to French and German—and English, of course—or greater amounts of some three subjects are regarded as supplying the needed quantum of study and training.



Of course what the schools teach and prepare for must depend on the demands made by the several colleges. All agree that the minimum work in the schools, even for scientific and technological institutes, ought to be English, mathematics and history. If the student is looking forward to technological training there would best be included enough scientific preparation to give the needed bent and aptitude. But for the culture A. B. course, Latin is necessarily added. Whether all, or only a part of Greek, should be substituted by the modern languages, is an old subject for discussion, and I do not wish to call it up here. But I was interested in observing this past winter that the University of Pennsylvania, an institution commonly and wrongly thought of abroad primarily as given over to the scientific spirit, still demands Greek upon entrance and a year's work in Greek in college for its A. B. degree. Of course, there is a B. Sc. degree at this same institution; but, at least the historic tradition of the A. B. degree is sustained. Some institutions, following in the wake of Cornell, are giving only the A. B. degree to all college graduates, having done away with the B. Sc. title altogether. But a discussion of this would lead us too far astray, and I must not trespass longer on your time.

In conclusion, what does this system of correlation and co-ordination in school, college and university work mean? What is the significance of a special and distinct and uniform recognized requirement for entrance into our colleges? It means in itself system, organization, concerted agreement, among a large number of institutions over a wide territory, a clear demarcation between the proper phases of school work, college work, and professional work. But more than that. It means the union of our Southern parts of the United States with the rest of the country from Massachusetts to California. Indeed, since we have just witnessed the spectacle of examinations in every state and province for the Rhodes scholarship at Oxford, it means a closer uniformity among the nations of the English-speaking peoples. And in its ultimate relations, it means a closer association with the rest of the educated, civilized world.

This is no small gain. It means casting aside the bonds of separateness, of provinciality, almost inevitable from our great distances and natural isolation. Should we live in one corner with-

out noting what is done elsewhere? It generates a feeling that we are a conscious working part of the civilized world, and distinctly of our part of it, the American nation. We feel that we are contributing to the national work and to our national destiny. A school like the Webbs at Bellbuckle, Tenn., if I may take a personal illustration, is training students for every part of the country, East, North and South, as well as for nearer institutions in Tennessee and the adjacent states. I ask frankly, is not such a school a national enterprise?

I draw another illustration from four higher institutions of learning in Tennessee that I happen to know most intimately, and I regard them as typical of a far-reaching movement. I refer to the State University at Knoxville, the Peabody Normal College and Vanderbilt University at Nashville, and the University of the South at Sewanee. These are first of all widely representative. In the faculty of each of them are men from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, trained in various parts of our country at home and some abroad. Again, the students in the several departments come by no means from one locality, but represent in birth and training and residence a large number of states and differing environments. At Sewanee there are usually some thirty of the forty-four states represented, and this is more or less true of her sister institutions. In a class of twenty, an instructor may look for a dozen or more states to be represented. Then there must be reckoned the wide area of country to which the future will inevitably call these workers. There is thus the consciousness of the representative character in both faculty and student body, the consciousness of a broader, higher and better national citizenship. Then there is added to this the consciousness of high ideals and faith in the ultimate high destiny of the particular work and institution.

It is this conscious work for a conscious end that I wish to emphasize. High-school men, both private and public, and the college men of the South feel that they are conscious and intelligent parts of a wide system, a national system, if you please, and more potent than banks and factories and railways, and even economic reasons—and I am not foolish enough to minimize or despise these. The intelligent education of this country is doing most to unite and unify and strengthen it, to make it one and in

separable, more intelligent and more powerful for all good ends.

Such a conscious uniform system, that can still give enough individual elasticity in the treatment of details, is doing most for its immediate section and locality, as it is best serving the nation at large. It is giving the best and the most intelligent according to its conditions, and yet looks forward to the greater educational world beyond. Our graduates and former pupils more and more are scattered everywhere over the world and are coming in competition with the most varied. We wish them to find themselves easily in sympathy and relation with the best. For there can only be one best—the standard, the ideal, to be seen clearly and labored for conscientiously—the cause of a higher culture and the cause of a clearer truth.

Mr. Walter H. Page, of North Carolina, editor of the *World's Work*, New York City, was next introduced. Mr. Page spoke on "The Unfulfilled Ambition of the South." His address follows:

WALTER H. PAGE.

There is a class of men in the Southern States who have a stronger love of their country—I had almost said—than other men anywhere feel. They are bound closely together by an ardent patriotism which is the inheritance of every Southerner, especially if his traditions run back to the large-minded period when Southern men built the spacious house of our liberties. And every such man would give his work if he knew how—he would give his life, if need be—to restore the thought, the character, and the influence of the South to the commanding position that they held a hundred years ago.

It is to the Southern men of this mettle that I wish to speak; and, if the other distinguished persons in this audience will pardon me, I shall speak directly to them and to them only.

I address those, then, who answer to this description of a Southern gentleman—a man who is frank and fearless, generous to his fellows, a proud man with an instinct for leadership; the weaker the man is with whom he has to do, the more scrupulous is his justice; the weaker the woman is with whom he has to do, the more scrupulous his honor.

And I speak to you in the intimate intonations of our unful-

filled ambition. For we have an unfulfilled ambition that has given a deep seriousness to our lives. Of course, I do not speak of personal disappointments. Personal disappointments, if we have suffered them, are of too little importance seriously to affect the lives of men of our traditions or of our temper. He is a small man, indeed, whose mere personal fortunes or misfortunes change his relations to his fellow man or to his country. We were born far too large for that. And I think we were born too large, also, for mere personal ambitions. The desire to achieve something merely for one's own glory—that, too, is the mark of small men who do not feel sure of their station or of their relations to their fellow men or to their country. We claim a larger ambition and a higher patriotism than this. What I speak of is an unfulfilled ambition for our country—an ambition for these States and these people as a part of the Union. The ambition that men felt in the time of Washington, of Jefferson, of Marshall—this is what I mean. They and their fellows wrought out their high wish. Our wish, equally high, we have not wrought out; and that is our sorrow. How has the South fallen in the life, in the thought, in the conduct of the republic; since their time? If we have not been disinherited, we are yet almost strangers in the house of our fathers. Why are we not, why may we not become, leaders in our country's progress? We do not believe that we are incapable. We come of good stock. Nor have we lost our ambition.

Lost our ambition? Let me recall a memory. I had a friend, when we were just coming into active life, a Georgian of gentle breeding and of high spirit, ardent and eloquent. There are other men here who knew him and loved him, for he has now long been dead. The last sad Christmas of his life I went a long journey to see him. One evening at sunset he looked out the window over the gullied fields (it was an endless waste of mistilled land), and he said sadly: "I love the old red hills, and we must show that *men* live on them yet." A hint of death was already in his eyes, but an unbounded patriotism shone there, too. He wrote me a little later: "I do not mind dying, but I hoped to do something for the South before I went." And he never wrote again. Our ambition is as great as his was, and—let us hope—as unselfish. But even yet it is an unfulfilled ambition.

Now, I shall try to go straight to the heart of this matter,


which concerns us more than anything else in the world; and I shall talk, man to man, in a mood that has no hesitation and no fear—the mood of close kinship in a high hope. We are *men*, and we can face facts as bravely as we have faced misfortune. We are not afraid of any truth.

What ails us, then, or what ails the time we live in?

The republic, of which we are a part, has in our day swung into a wider orbit than any other country. It is a larger time, a wider horizon, than American citizens ever before saw. What has been the secret of this progress?

The secret of the unrivaled progress of the United States—the secret of the swift forward movement in our time that puts all preceding social advancement to shame—is the training of the mass of the people. So simple is this fact that many a man misses its profound meaning. Sometimes men miss its meaning because they use words that confuse them. “Education,” is one such confusing word. To “educate” the people means one thing to one man and another to another. To most persons it smells of books only. I have several times had the depressing misfortune to be caught at a real educational meeting (and I dare say you have, too); and I have been reminded by what I heard of blind little men scrambling in a fog for a path that was not there. Then I have looked outdoors and seen the roses blooming and thought of the children that cannot bloom. Let us not use words, then, about which men deliver dissertations. Let us call it plain “training,” for training is the thing that has made the world a new world, that has vindicated democracy, that has opened the door for opportunities as fast as we can seize them—opportunities not only industrial and diplomatic, but intellectual and moral also.

I lately took a journey from Boston to St. Louis. Across that row of states one may see everywhere workshops that are schools and schools that are workshops, the people all doing some economic service and training the young. The earnestness of academic life, the hum of industry, the cleanness of agriculture—from the lecture-rooms of Harvard College to the power-room at the World's Fair where an engine turns 10,000 horse-power as smoothly as a top sleeps on a polished plate—these are our countrymen (and these are their ways) who have already taken a mortgage on the future of the world, for they are its masters.



Let us see what right training is and how it works.

First—does training pay the individual? To reduce the question to its simplest terms, let us first consider the common untrained laborer in the South, the man at the very bottom. I asked the heads of several good schools for negro men and women to tell me the earning power of particular persons before they were trained and after. Here is the answer from Tuskegee:

Before training, a colored lad can earn in Alabama from 60 to 80 cents a day; after training at any useful kind of work, from \$2.50 to \$4.00 a day.

These instances, among others, are sent to me by the principal of the Slater School for Negroes at Winston N. C.:

John Smith's untrained earning capacity was \$15 a month. Trained at this school as a builder, he now earns \$50 a month.

J. B. Christian earned \$8 a month. As a teacher he now earns \$35.

Lizzie Crittenden earned \$5 a month. As a nurse, she now earns \$25.

Eliza Hand earned \$6 a month. As a dressmaker she now earns \$35.

The principal of Hampton Institute, in Virginia, gives these cases:

L. R. Henderson as a bricklayer earns \$4 a day. He works side by side with white men and has no trouble with them.

Charles Harvey earns from \$2.75 to \$3.50 a day as a carpenter.

A recital of such cases might be made for a whole evening from any part of the South.

Now, in the face of such facts, any able-minded negro who does not train himself is a fool; there is a greater economic difference between an income of 70 cents and \$2.50 a day than there is between \$3000 a year and \$30,000.

But if a negro be a fool not to train himself, what shall be said of a white man? He, too, is a fool, with a punitive adjective for emphasis. I have asked the same question of many schools for whites. I will quote but one answer:

The president of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, at Auburn, has written me as follows:

I could write you what seems to me a romance as to the process of transmuting the brains of country boys into live commercial assets. We have graduated from Auburn since 1872, when the college was founded, about seven hundred and fifty young men. Most of these have been poor boys in the strictest sense of the word, and to-day they are earning an average of over eight hundred dollars a year. Some are getting salaries of two thousand, some three thousand, and one exceptional fellow ten thousand. Now, the average wages of these boys, had they not attended this institution, but remained on the farm, would have been about a hundred and fifty dollars a year, which is the full estimate of the earning capacity of a plain Alabama farm laborer. Their present average earning, of eight hundred dollars, includes of course the salaries of young men who have just left college, but who in a few years will rise to something better. The average will, therefore, soon be higher.

Now capitalize this eight hundred dollars yearly income at five per cent., and we have the sum of sixteen thousand dollars, which expresses the cash value of the young man's educated brain. This enormous increase in his standard of life and in productive capacity is gained at this institution at an average cost of two hundred dollars a year, or eight hundred dollars for the four years.

I cite you a few concrete examples:

G. N. Mitcham took with us his B. S. and M. S. degrees in 1897 and 1898, and in five years after leaving college, without any outside influence, had worked into a position in which he directed ten other civil engineers, and which paid a salary of \$2400.

W. D. Taylor, 1881, a young man raised on a farm in Montgomery County in the Black Belt, took our course in civil engineering, has become a leader of national reputation in his profession, constructing a noted bridge for the Chicago and Alton Railway across the Missouri River, and now earns a salary of about four thousand dollars as professor of railway engineering in the University of Wisconsin.

J. M. Reid, of the same class and the same course, was the son of a section boss on an Alabama Railway. He, too, is a celebrated engineer, having been employed by a Portuguese company in Africa. In addition to his salary he was paid by the company a bonus of ten thousand dollars for certain changes he suggested which effected immense saving in the cost of construction.

E. N. Brown, of the same class and course, was from a Black Belt county just below us, the son of an intelligent but poor gentleman in said county. Young Brown is now general manager of the Mexican National System of Railways, with a salary of ten thousand dollars per year.

This list might be prolonged indefinitely.

Looked at from the point of view of the individual, it is clear, then, that it pays to be trained. But how is it, looked at from the point of view of the whole community? If I want a man to shovel dirt, perhaps I do not need a trained man. I want a man for 70 cents a day, not for \$2.50. If everybody in a community be trained, who will shovel the dirt and chop the wood and draw the water? Does not every community require a large number of untrained, low-priced men?

No!

That is the fatal doctrine that our fathers fell into and lost industrial leadership thereby. It is this doctrine that has cost the Southern States a hundred years of progress, for this is nothing but a sequel of slavery. If every man in the community were trained you could have the dirt shoveled more cheaply than now. A trained man would drive his scoop to your dirt, attach it to an electric wire and shovel the dirt more accurately, more quickly, more cheaply, than any negro in Alabama can do it. That sort of activity is happening all over the industrial world. Men once pegged shoes by hand. They are pegged much more cheaply by machinery. Whole towns are given to shoe-making; and a man who invented shoe-pegging machinery lately died and left a great legacy to one of our universities. Men once shoveled iron ore with spades. On Lake Superior ore is now lifted from the earth by machinery and it is not once moved by the muscle-power of man till it becomes steel rails and they are laid on the road-bed. It is precisely this kind of trained activity that has enabled the United States to take the lead in the industrial world. Here is the whole secret of it—training from the very bottom up.

To show the sheer financial difference between an untrained and a better trained community, compare North Carolina and Iowa. They are both agricultural states. They have approximately the same area and the same population. They have approximately the same number of farmers. Yet the value of the



farm products of Iowa is more than four times the value of the farm products of North Carolina; and the value of the farm property is eight times as great. A farmer makes more than four times as much in Iowa as he does in North Carolina; and a farm-hand receives twice as much. The difference is not so much a difference in soil as it is a difference in men. Most of the farm work in North Carolina is done by untrained negroes. It is practically all done in Iowa by intelligent and trained white men. It is the difference between a clodhopper and a trained man. And yet so rich is our land that even the clodhopper is pretty well off.

Economic civilization moves forward only as the whole mass of activity becomes more efficient. Are you a lawyer? Your dirt shoveler will never pay you a large fee; but a trained man who works machinery may. Are you a physician? The same is true. Are you a merchant? Your untrained dirt-shoveler can never buy much from you with his 70 cents a day. But a man who earns \$4 a day is worth having as a customer. Are you a railroad? Your untrained man has little money to travel and nothing to haul. Are you a cotton mill? Your untrained man or woman can't buy much cloth on low wages. Whatever you are, you fare better if all men about you are trained, and you fare well in proportion to the number that are trained.

This, then, is the central thought of the whole matter. It pays an individual to be trained, and it not only pays a community, but it is absolutely necessary for a community that all the people be trained. And this simple and obvious truth leads far.

It brings a new conception of society. A satisfactory society in our modern democracy cannot be made up of "educated" men and "uneducated" men. So long as education is regarded as a privilege and not as a right and a universal necessity, the community will stand still in activity, in thought, in character. The proper standard to judge men by is an economic standard, not an academic one. This economic standard changes our whole view of life, and makes our old system of social thought face another way.

Now it is this economic structure and not the privileged structure of society in the United States—as far as it has yet been worked out—that has given our country its great place in the world. And it is this economic and non-privileged structure of

society that has given the Northern and the Western States the lead of the Southern States.

The idea which Southern men inherited was that it made no particular matter about the training of the mass of men, provided we properly trained some men as leaders. Although it is easy to understand the advantage of training to an individual, we are just beginning to see that it is necessary also to a community that all men should be trained. Our great task lies right here—to persuade the community that it is bound to train *every* child for the community's own sake.

Let us go on without flinching and see where this leads us. We run now squarely into the doctrine of universal training at the community's expense (compulsory, if need be), which is necessary in a democracy. There is no escape from it. We may obscure the question as we please. We may befog it with big words. We may drag it into political discussion. We may hatch big theories to cackle it down. We may smear it over with charity. We may impoverish the state because we are afraid of pauperizing men who are already so lean that they can't distinguish hunger from backache. But there it stands—a stark economic fact—the state must train every child at the public expense; and it must train him to usefulness. And an economic fact is also a moral fact.

And the right training of all the people would come pretty near to ending all our troubles—to removing our difficulties, economic, political and ethnological. For instance, you have seldom known a well-trained white man and a well-trained negro in Alabama—both men of economic worth—to have a difficulty because one is white and the other is black, or for any other reason; and you will seldom know such cases. But one untrained worthless white man or one untrained worthless negro may cause trouble throughout a whole county. For this reason it is important to train the child of every hill-billy, of every politician, of every negro in Alabama. In every case it is an economic reason, not a merely personal reason, not a race reason, not a class reason. In an ideal economic state, if we were to construct it as ruthlessly as Plato constructed his ideal Republic, we should kill every untrained man; for he is in the way. He is a burden, and he brings down the level of the economic efficiency of the whole community.

Clear thinking brings us home to this truth. A knowledge of our own history brings us home to the same truth. The one great structural error made in our past was an economic error. We shall correct it only by an economic correction. I said in the beginning that we are a patriotic people. Sound economic action is patriotic action always.

And there is another quality that is strong in us. We love the land that we were born to—literally the land—this ground, this soil, this earth. Our fathers were land-hungry and land-loving, and our impulses answer to their habits. Those of us that do not till the earth still keep a love of it. Even those of us whose trades have buried us in great cities feel exiled if we do not come at short intervals and touch this soil. The call of the earth compels us. This is always our old home. And the odors of a Southern springtime stir deep emotions in us.

We love the land. Then, my brothers, we owe it a debt that we cannot pay devoutly enough. If it speaks a deep meaning to us, how it cries out to us for better culture! Its emotional appeal puts on us economic duty—a solemn, filial duty. We may look about us in any direction and see—

Spring kneeling on the sod,  
Lifting neglected acres up to God.

For our sins to our land, let us humbly pray:

O Land, the giver of plenty; sustain us yet, untrained workers.  
O Sunny Land, clother of the world, sustain us yet, untrained workers.  
O Land, our sunny home; sustain us yet, untrained workers.  
O fertile, sunny, and plenteous country, provider, clother, home;  
sustain us yet, untrained workers.  
We will worship thee with better labor,  
Renew the riches of thy soil with knowledge,  
Make green thy hills, thy lowlands white with cotton,  
Preserve the forest mantle of thy mountains,  
Keep clean thy streams for constant flowing,  
Teach thy boundless beauties to our children,  
Till we lie down in silence in thy bosom.  
Amen.

But it is not enough to regard the subject from a bald economic view only. We have other reasons for training all the people than the sheer profit of it, though that is reason enough.

There is one high reason that includes all others. It is necessary for our freedom of opinion that all the people be trained. It was for freedom of opinion that our ancestors built the wide arch of the ranged Union. Then a tyranny of thought followed the great economic error.

We all know that freedom of thought is abridged in many parts of the South. But I will give you one instance of its suppression. I sat one night a few years ago in the house of the president of one of our old educational institutions. He and several members of his faculty were discussing the very subject that I am discussing now—the necessity of a universal compulsory training of every child in the state. "Make a negro go to school and tax us for it?" one man asked. Yes; we all agreed that this was an economic necessity. Then the president smiled and remarked that if he were to express this opinion baldly in public, he would lose his place.

"Do your trustees differ with you?" I asked.

"No, many of them at least agree with me. But they would be afraid of public opinion. The principal newspaper here would hound them."

You would have supposed that the editor was master of thought there. But the editor held the same opinion that we all held. He had told me so. He, too, was afraid of public opinion; and he would not have written his own convictions in his paper.

Public opinion, therefore, was not the thought of educated men in that community, but the blind push of untrained men. And these thoughtful men were not free because of the mass of unthinking men about them. Always an untrained mob will control thought if the people be not trained. In an untrained democracy low minds will lead; and an organized howl will lift demagogues to power.

This is the reason why other parts of the republic have taken intellectual leadership from us. This is the reason that our kinsmen across the sea and our kinsmen across the Potomac regard us as a problem. Let us face this fact frankly.

We have suffered too long because the way to freedom of opinion was not clear. But it is clear now. It is the very way that Jefferson himself, in his own free thought, pointed out—by the training of all the people. In this way the South will again

come to its own, and public opinion here will get the full service of our best minds and most generous natures.

It seems a hard lot that we of all men should have suffered an eclipse of free thought. Our forefathers supposed that they had made this blessing secure for all time. It was Jefferson's great dream. Yet we, who ought to have been born into the full blaze of intellectual liberty, are the only English-speaking men to whom it is now denied.

But a change is coming—faster than most men know except those of us who live away from the old home and frequently come back to it. The truth is, the South is now the land of rapid change. Men often speak of it as if it were an old land—as a small part of it is. They speak of it as if it were settled by a population that had firmly fixed methods of thought and unyielding institutions.

What is the South? What is Alabama, for instance? Old men are still living who came here by wagons, to a wilderness. This busy city has been wholly built within my easy memory. There are to-day only 35 persons per square mile in this state. If it were as densely settled as the Netherlands there would be as many persons in Alabama as there are now in twelve Southern states—all the old slave states—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee and the border States of Kentucky and Maryland to boot. If every acre of land in Alabama were as profitably cultivated as the island of Jersey is, its food products would feed about half the people in the United States. By a fair economic measure, Alabama is yet hardly more than a wilderness. Man is just beginning to make a permanent impress on it.

And the changes are not only physical. There are changes in thought. The day before yesterday (as we measure the life of a nation) pioneers were coming here. Yesterday (as we measure the life of a nation) the sons of these pioneers gathered at your capital and sought to make an end of a long trouble by setting up a new government. That was only yesterday. But to-day men here have a different mind about that enterprise. Everything here, I say, is rapidly changing—occupations, methods, thought. Nothing is fixed. We have, in fact, a less developed land and people than any other men of our race in all their far-flung lines of settle-

ment and industry. And a few strong men now may make their impress on the land and on the people for all time to come.

For this reason we cannot, in spite of our disinheritance, regard ourselves as unfortunate. We are, in fact, if we have the mettle for a great task, the most fortunate of men. Those that sit in soft places and discuss academic propositions (and mistake self-indulgence in criticism for the intellectual life) are welcome to their ease. We would not swap birthrights with them. If we have a rough task, it is a high task. While we are doing it, we shall have the joy of constructive activity. We look forward to a golden age that we may surely help to bring, not back to one that never was. And thought is every year becoming freer—on great public subjects and even in the churches.

Nor is this all. A time is coming, men of the South, and it is coming before we die, when other and even graver economic problems will press on our national life for solution. They press already. They are new problems and no government has yet met them. When we grapple with them in earnest, we shall need leadership of a quality that is got only from a hardly won victory. The men who have passed resolutely through one struggle for economic truth and free opinion will have had the best training for other struggles for other economic truths and for free opinion, fettered then in some other way. A democracy in its days of trial calls its leaders from those who struggled last. When we win this battle here—over ourselves and over inherited error—the nation may have need of you. Let us rouse us, then, and proclaim this declaration:

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a generation of men to dissolve the hereditary bands that have connected them with an economic error and to assume among the workers of the world an independent and equal station, to which their intellectual ability and their economic capacity entitle them, a decent regard for the opinions of the laggard requires that they should declare the purpose which impels them to this emancipation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men should have equality of opportunity; that we are endowed by our institutions with inalienable rights; and that among these are free training and free opinion.

We, therefore, the descendants of men who meant to establish free thought for us when they laid the foundations of

our liberties, pointing to the benefits of free opinion among English-speaking men throughout the world, do in the name and for the development of the good people of these states, solemnly publish and declare that free training and free opinion of right ought to be theirs.

And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

At the conclusion of Mr. Page's address the Conference adjourned until the following morning at ten o'clock.

## THIRD DAY, THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1904.

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### MORNING SESSION.

The Conference was called to order shortly after 10 a. m., by the president, Mr. Robert C. Ogden. Mr. Ogden said:

#### ROBERT C. OGDEN.

We have, this morning, a little formal business to transact. Before calling upon the chairman of the Executive Committee for a report from this committee I desire to say a few things concerning the Conference. The Conference, as has often been explained, is a very loose organization. There is, I might say, some considerable current expense connected with its meetings. The government requires us to pay postage on everything we send through the mails; we have large printing bills; and somehow or other these accounts manage to get paid. If the printing is needed, we pick up a fairy godfather somewhere. The Conference has been adopted over and over again and it has more than forefathers, although it is only very young. But it has more forefathers than the Hebrews had. Now we ought to have a more compact organization.

I shall occupy your time only for a moment on this matter, but it comes home to me with a great deal of force. This Conference, as I endeavored to demonstrate in a few remarks I was privileged to make at the opening of the Conference, has a right to live—not only has a right to live, but it ought to live. In a short life of seven years, in a period of activity of only four years, it has demonstrated beyond question that it has an influence, that while it is spiritual and intellectual, rather than material, yet it is exercising a force for good in many different directions, and we are sure that out of the forces of this Conference there has come a serious and inspiring literature, and that through the meeting of persons from different parts of the country the best South and the best North and East are coming into closer relationship than ever



before. We know that these things are going on, and we know also, it may be said as a matter of actual fact, that perhaps the largest influence for good of this Conference has been the bringing together of strong thoughtful-minded men and women of the South in an acquaintanceship and sympathetic union for work, such as did not exist before the Conference. Now for all of these reasons and for many others it has a right to live, but it is too loose an organic structure, its organization is not sufficiently compact.

I wish to leave just this suggestion with you, and I wish also to make the suggestion to those whom you will appoint as the officers of your Conference for the year to come, in the hope that between now and the time that the next Conference meets something will be done, in order that the Conference may lead a strong organic, progressive life that shall be quite independent of any particular person anywhere.

We are now prepared to hear the report of the Executive Committee, from Mr. B. B. Valentine, of Richmond, Va., chairman.

MR. B. B. VALENTINE,

The report of the Executive Committee is very short.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Educational Conference respectfully submits the following report for the consideration of the Conference:

We make the following nominations for general officers of the Conference:

For President, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, 784 Broadway, New York City; for Vice-President, Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Montgomery, Ala.; for Secretary, Dr. B. J. Baldwin, of Montgomery, Ala.; for Treasurer, Mr. William H. Blair, of Winston-Salem, N. C.

For the Executive Committee of the Conference we nominate:

Mr. B. B. Valentine, South Third Street, Richmond, Va.; Dr. Robert B. Fulton, Chancellor of the University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.; the Hon. John B. Knox, Anniston, Ala.; Mr. G. P. Glenn, Superintendent of Schools, Jacksonville, Fla.; Mr. B. C. Caldwell, President of the State Normal School, Natchitoches, La.; Mr. C. B. Gibson, Superintendent of Schools, Columbus, Georgia; Dr. Richard H. Jesse, President of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; Hon. S. A. Mynders, State Superintendent of Education,

Nashville, Tenn.; Mr. Clarence H. Poe, Raleigh, N. C.; Dr. D. B. Johnson, President of Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C.; and Dr. D. F. Houston, President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Texas.

I will say, too, that the Conference has received already several invitations for the meeting of 1905, and that these will be considered by the Executive Committee as soon as possible. We have received a very cordial invitation from Columbia, S. C., one from Chattanooga, Tenn., one from Natchez, Miss., and one from Spartanburg, S. C.

The president said:

The form of action will be upon the acceptance of the report, the vote on the election of officers being later.

The question was put by the president upon the acceptance of the report of the Executive Committee. The report was accepted.

Dr. Charles D. McIver took the chair at this time and put the question upon the election of officers:

Are there any other nominations for officers in addition to those presented by the Executive Committee?

If there are no other nominations shall we vote upon the motion as a whole?

A motion was moved and seconded that the vote be taken on the motion as a whole.

The Chair:

"It is moved and seconded that all the nominations be voted upon at once, there being no other nominations. Those in favor of electing those nominated will please say 'Yes,' opposed 'No.'"

All the persons nominated were thereupon unanimously elected.

MR. ROBERT C. OGDEN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Conference, I do not propose to detain you with any formal remarks, but I do think one little explanation is due to myself. I have been placed at the head of this ticket and have been elected by you, and I appreciate very deeply all that is implied in the fact that you think us worthy of your confidence for another year to serve at the head of this Conference

of Education in the South, but it is known to very many here that I registered a solemn vow that I could not continue in this office any longer. I had my own reasons; some of them are personal. Time is flying away, I am no longer young; and then, too, I think that rotation in office is a principle that should be observed by every organization of this character. But for reasons that have been urged upon me I have withdrawn my vow, and have been willing to allow my name to stand again, hoping that a kind Providence may enable me to serve the Conference better next year than this. Just that much, let me say. I am not altogether a weakling; I do know my own mind; and I thought when I came here that it was clear, absolutely clear, that my services in the office with which I have been honored so long should terminate at this Conference. Only one who is deficient, however, can never change his mind; and sometimes we find the theoretically wrong things may be perhaps the practically right things. I trust you will accept my explanation.

The President of the Conference:

"Local Taxation for Public Education" is the subject of discussion this morning. The Conference is aware that no single question with which we are engaged has a more vital importance than this. The first address will be from Mr. H. O. Murfee, of Marion, Ala.

H. O. MURFEE.

I have the honor of opening for your consideration the subject of local taxation with a definition of terms and a statement of the situation.

The history of nations and of governments uniformly reveals a vital relation between taxation and prosperity. This relation is not merely a material connection. It is a relation deep and enduring between ideas, opinions, beliefs, which nourish national life and are themselves the real source of all revenue. It is in this relation that I would bespeak your attention to the subject of local taxation.

Taxation is a mode of raising public revenues. "The public revenues," according to the founder of the historical school of law, "the public revenues are a portion that each subject gives of his

property in order to secure or enjoy the remainder.”\* This conception of public revenues is fundamental to government; for unless a people recognize the relation between their taxes and their welfare, they will ever regard taxation as tyranny. In the visible things of government this relation of taxation to welfare is evident. Taxes which support the constable and establish courts are patently indispensable to the public good. But it is not so evident that taxes for schools also “are a portion that each subject gives of his property in order to secure or enjoy the remainder.” Certain it is, however, that the security of our property and the enjoyment of our possessions are conditioned upon the integrity and the intelligence of our neighbors; and the integrity and the intelligence of our neighbors are fruits of education.

Thus it is that in contributing to the public revenues for education we insure to ourselves the things for which governments are instituted—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The mode of raising such public revenues is also a capital concern. Not only the amount of revenue raised, but—what is of far greater moment—the attitude of the people, is influenced by the mode of taxation. In a democratic government the people should be invested with the sovereign power of support. And not merely the people in general, but the people in particular. Each community should be empowered to tax itself for its own improvement. This is local taxation, and this is local self-government. Local self-government has been aptly defined as “that system of government under which the greatest number of minds knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or the control over it.”\*\* This is the cherished political faith of the South; and this faith should shape our policies of public instruction. Local taxation for schools is the doctrine of democracy in education. This doctrine teaches that the people who possess the most intimate knowledge of public affairs and who have the most intimate interest in their well-being should be entrusted with the power of support and the responsibility of control. Denied this power and responsibility, the people cease to consider public affairs as their affairs, which demand

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\*Montesquieu: *Esprit des Lois*, I. xiii.

\*\*Toulmin Smith: *Local Self-government and Centralization*.

their vigilant supervision and loyal support. The government, by whatever name it is called, that prevents a people from improving their condition savors more of despotism than of democracy.

The chief virtue of local taxation for schools is the virtue of democratic government: it develops the people through their efforts to govern themselves. Not the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but the most complete development of every citizen—this is the blessing of self-government. This blessing is most beneficent in the conduct of education. The administration of their schools, through local support and local control, is itself a source of enlightenment to a people. The amount of revenue which will accrue from local taxation is not the sole consideration; the increase of interest and the community of effort on the part of the people for the elevation of their schools are vital effects of this mode of raising revenue. The amount of revenue raised is a matter of the moment; the active interest of the people in the education of their children is a matter of all time. Such interest is a source of life unto life, and is itself a mighty means of enduring revenue. Local taxation for schools yields its richest fruits not in an increased revenue, but in the personal interest each citizen acquires for the betterment of the schools, in the belief which thus comes to prevail that the schools are of the people, for the people, and by the people, and that the people are the repositories of their children's welfare.

The situation of public education in the South is due to a practical repudiation of the doctrine of local self-government. This situation presents two capital features. These features are a dearth of public revenue and an apathy of public opinion. The dearth of public revenue for education in the Southern states appears in the recent report of the United States Commissioner of Education. For example, in this report we find that the total revenue for schools in Massachusetts amounted to \$14,192,760; in North Carolina, \$1,484,921. Massachusetts raised 97.2 per cent. of this revenue by local taxation; in North Carolina local taxation contributed only 12.5 per cent. These cases are typical: wherever local taxation has been employed, it has been a source of copious revenue. The dearth of public revenue for education in the Southern states may be attributed to the same cause which has operated to produce an apathy of public opinion. The state and not the community has exercised the power of support and control. The result of this has


been not only a meager revenue, but also an indifferent public opinion. It is customary to attribute the situation of public education in the South to certain historical causes. Whatever part the past may play in shaping present opinion, present opinion is largely determined by the nature of things. And it is not in the nature of things for a people to entertain a zealous devotion for institutions which are not made by their own efforts and maintained by their own labors. Historical speculation may furnish an attractive field for the discovery of remote causes; but the causes which are present and within our power to alter, these should be the principal concern in education. Of the causes which have depressed public education in the South, the chief is to be found in the system of support and control. Supported and controlled by the remote power of the state, public schools have come to be regarded as eleemosynary institutions; and eleemosynary institutions are never held in high esteem among a free and independent people. As long as our schools are supported from the state treasury in such degree, so long will they remain without the pale of popular favor. But when each citizen of each community contributes directly to the support of the schools, the schools then become the schools of the people; and the people perceive that in elevating them they elevate themselves and their posterity. This is the situation in the South. This is the situation among any people when the education of their children is relegated to a remote authority. The low esteem in which public schools have been held in the South is not due to a spirit of arrogant aristocracy. It is due to the belief that the education of our children should never be delegated to an authority too obscure and a power too remote. When public education is entrusted to the people, when the people perceive that they possess the sovereign power of support and the saving grace of control, then will public education become each citizen's private concern and each Christian's religious obligation.

The President of the Conference: I now have the pleasure of introducing Dr. Walter B. Hill, Chancellor of the University of Georgia. Dr. Hill is the latest addition to the Southern Education Board—an addition which the board has felt much honored in being able to make.

## WALTER B. HILL.

The extent of my obligation to the program, according to the terms of my engagement with the secretary, is measured in time by the period of five minutes, and is limited in subject-matter to a brief account of the pending local tax movement in Georgia.

The present constitution of the state was adopted in 1877. At that time reconstruction-phobia had not subsided and the provisions in respect to local taxation were dictated in part by apprehensions derived from the experiences of that calamitous era. The right of local taxation was recognized, but its exercise was hedged about with such restrictions as to be practically prohibitive. Before an election could be held, the recommendations of two successive grand juries must be obtained, and in the election the tax could not be voted except by securing the votes of two-thirds of all those qualified to vote, thus counting against the proposition all who were indifferent or providentially hindered from voting. Several campaigns in counties where local taxation was strongly popular proved that it could not overcome these hindrances. Accordingly, it was realized that the first step necessary was to change the constitution. A bill was introduced in the General Assembly submitting an amendment to the vote of the people at the election to occur next October. The amendment will remove entirely the requirement of preliminary action by the two successive grand juries. It permits local taxation by counties or by districts within a county. It is conservative in that it requires a two-thirds vote, but the requirement is two-thirds of those voting and not as formerly two-thirds of the total qualified voters. The bill providing for the amendment passed the General Assembly, and is now pending for adoption or rejection by the people next fall. As soon as the bill became law, a meeting of the educational workers interested in the subject was called in the governor's office, Dr. McIver being present, representing the Southern Education Board. A committee of seven citizens was appointed to draft an address to the people, urging the adoption of the amendment. This address was as strong as the committee could make it, and yet brief in form. It was published in the leading papers, furnished as stereotyped matter to all the country papers, and printed in leaflet form for very extensive distribution. From the beginning it seemed wholly proba-



ble that the amendment would be adopted. No opposition has been developed. The governor of the state, who knows the public sentiment of the people of the state, publicly stated that in his opinion it was sure of adoption.\* If its adoption had been the only question, there would have been no apparent necessity for any agitation or campaign, but it was felt desirable to interest the people in the subject actively, to secure the adoption of the amendment by an impressively commanding vote, and more especially to prepare the minds of the people by a preliminary campaign on the amendment to take immediate advantage of its provisions so soon as it should be adopted. Hence, the committee which had been appointed to prepare the address was instructed to act as a campaign committee. During the fall and winter of last year they arranged educational rallies in many of the counties, securing the services for the most part of local speakers without expense. They furnished matter for the press and prepared a handbook of about fifty pages, which is intended principally to serve as a text-book for speakers. It has quotations from the educational governors of the Southern states, extracts from the addresses of Dr. Curry, Dr. McIver, and others, short articles by leading county superintendents, statistics, etc. During the past winter the campaign has not been active, as the season was not favorable for public gatherings, and the public mind has been engrossed during the spring, until the 20th inst., with the general campaign for the nominations of state, district and county officials; but from now until October we shall carry on the campaign by the various agencies already mentioned and with the purposes heretofore stated.

We shall be very happy to make our experience and our work in Georgia of service to other communities. Indeed, I presume that the possibility of this was the reason why a statement of this local movement was deemed suitable in this discussion. In the hope of contributing suggestions for use elsewhere, I will mention the following matters:

1. We have stressed the point that taxation—especially district taxation—for primary schools is pure Jeffersonian democracy. There may be some Protestants in the South who doubt the inerrancy of the Scriptures; there may be some Catholics who question the infallibility of the Pope; but there is yet to be found a man

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\*Since this address was delivered, the Amendment has passed,



in the South who doubts the political infallibility of Thomas Jefferson. In securing popular education, Jefferson sought to apply his favorite theory of government, which was the distribution of power. He preferred that local taxation for schools wherever practicable should be by districts. Information on this subject can be secured by obtaining from the National Bureau of Education an admirable compendium on Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, published in 18—. Any one desiring to follow his views in detail may refer to the following sources: Jefferson's "Writings," vi, 542, 566. viii, 205, 358; also his "Correspondence," 53, 54, 103, 186, 443.

2. We have used the sessions of the courts as a means of reaching the people. We have a little pride in this matter, because a man so full of resources as Dr. McIver told us when he heard of this that it was a plan he had not thought of. The court sessions bring together an excellent popular audience. The leading citizens of the county are usually present, as members of the grand juries. In the rural communities, the courts bring to the county site for one reason or another a very large number of citizens. For special educational rallies an audience has to be worked up. Here at the court sessions are fine audiences already gathered. The judges are generally strong friends of education. Our speakers usually ask them for an hour during the noon recess, preferably on the opening day of court. The judges have always acceded to the suggestion, and usually adjourn an hour earlier before dinner or reconvene an hour later.

3. Our speakers have been definite in dealing with the situation in each county. They have not "shelled the woods," but while giving general facts as to illiteracy, it has been suggested to them that they give also the number of illiterates in the county in which they are speaking. On the subject of the tax, they discuss not only the general situation in the state, but they go to the tax books of the particular county and ascertain just exactly what would be the additional cost to each taxpayer in case of the levy of the local tax for schools. It has often been found heretofore that when the discussion proceeds on general propositions alone, the most heated opponents of the tax have been those on whom the tax imposed would not exceed twenty-five or fifty cents. A definite and accurate presentation of this situation compels this class of

adversaries to be either silent or ridiculous. It is often both a revelation and a relief to the citizens generally to find how small an increment in taxation will secure such great benefits as are proposed by the local tax.

4. In conclusion, I will say that if our campaign address or the handbook will be of any service to others, copies can be had by writing to the state school commissioner, Hon. W. B. Merritt, at Atlanta. The campaign has been principally in his charge, and he deserves the credit for the good work that has been done.


The President of the Conference: In the absence of one of the speakers of this morning I will venture to exercise a little of the authority you have kindly imposed, and will call upon some of our visitors for a few words to the Conference for Education in the South. First, I will introduce to you the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., of Massachusetts.

#### BISHOP LAWRENCE

You people of the South have been so kind to us that I think you have a right to know what are our passing impressions as we come to you from the North. For no one would have the hardihood to make such a short visit as we are making and say that he had gained impressions which could be called final.

The first strong feature that strikes us all is this. As we have come through the South we feel that you have a strong love for the whole nation. The Civil War is, I will not say forgotten, but it is a thing of the past. The memories of the reconstruction period are some of them bitter, and no one of us can wonder at it. Still you people of the South feel bound together with us of the North in our national privileges and responsibilities. We are members one of another. Our problems of incoming peoples are yours, as your problems of race and education are ours.

A second impression is this: that through the inadequacy of the press of the country, the people find it impossible to know each other. We of the North are not fully informed of Southern conditions. We read the headlines of the news from the South and gain the impression that there are continual lynchings and that the Southern people as a whole are indifferent to justice and the enforcement of the law. We get the idea that the white people are indifferent to the education as well as to the rights of the negro;



and it is necessary for some of us to come here and discover, as I believe we have discovered, that the people of the South are just as much in earnest as to the enforcement of the law as are the people of the North. We have discovered also that the people of the South love the negro even more than do the people of the North.

I confess that I have had doubts upon this point as I have read how the whites are being given larger appropriations for their education than the blacks. But I have also had it borne in upon me that if on account of the poverty of the country there is not enough money to educate all immediately, it may be for the benefit of the negro that some preference be given to the earlier education of the white.

I say "for the benefit of the negro," because when the whites are educated the education of the negro must follow, for the white man will then discover that his safety and the welfare of the community lie in the education of all the people.

I have said enough, considering that Mr. Ogden gave me only two minutes in which to gather my thoughts.

My last word is this. President Dabney spoke with feeling at the University of Alabama, of his deep sense of personal loss through the death of those who fell in the war. True; but in every nation it is only through loss that there is gain; he that tries to save his life shall lose it, and he who loses his life in a cause which he believes to be right saves it for the nation.

I believe that the people of the North, suffering as they also did by the death of their loved ones, are grateful if by their losses they have gained for the history of the nation and the children of the American people such characters as Wade Hampton, Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee.

The President of the Conference: I will now ask Dr. J. C. Cooper, of New Britain, Conn.—one of the members of the corporation of Yale University—to address us.

J. C. COOPER.

I was surprised and startled some ten minutes ago by Mr. Ogden's sudden intimation that he was about to call me out. But when he explained that the regular order of procedure must be interrupted because certain gentlemen who had prepared addresses



had lost their voices and could not speak, and that impromptu speakers who had voices would be introduced in their stead, I thought of the Mississippi steamer and its whistle. The steamer had a very loud whistle which could not be blown except when the engine was shut off. You will understand, therefore, that the power of this convention is now shut off, and I am responsible only for the use of my voice.

It has been my privilege to come often into this Southland, especially during the last twelve months. As we come, we are always enamored of the natural attractions of this beautiful country, with its sunny skies, its wealth of flowers and the splendid products of its broad fields. It is a great and roomy land and its resources are inexhaustible. I am, however, continually impressed by the wise remark of a distinguished Congregational minister who was addressing the students of the Yale Divinity School. "After all, young gentlemen," he said, "after all, the principal thing in this world is the people." We are gathered here because of our interest in the people; because we believe that in the development of this vast nation of ours, South and North, East and West, everything depends upon the elevation of the people and of all the people. The wealth of a nation is men, not things. The advancement of our country, its agricultural progress, its commercial progress, its economic progress—all these rest upon the broad basis of an enlightened manhood. If we would have material prosperity we must first make men. We believe in manhood. We believe in the elevation of the lowest of men, in order that the image of God may be fully restored in them and that they, with us, may work together for the upbuilding of the nation.

What are the resources of this region of the South? Coal and iron, you say. But coal and iron have been here from the beginning of the world. It was not until the right men came that the mines were worked and the furnaces were kindled. Here, as elsewhere, everything in the material development of the country has depended upon men, trained men, with purpose and energy and intelligence and character. All things move forward with manhood. Manhood is the standard of advance. I like the new version of the Scriptures in certain respects, and especially have I been impressed with that great commission of our Lord, where instead of reading, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel

to every creature," it is written, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation." All creation does respond to the preaching of the gospel. Christianity clears the forests and cultivates the wilderness, opens the mines, improves agriculture, and in every way increases the fruits of the earth and enlarges its producing power. Those who are engaged in the work of education are engaged in the work of making men. Schools are manufacturing factories for making men.

This Conference of Education has for its sole purpose the encouragement of this work. I am deeply impressed with the truth of the assertion, which we hear so frequently in these days, that the South and the North are coming to know each other better than they have before and that, in this mutual acquaintance, we are coming to help one another more than ever before. Benjamin Kidd has called our attention to the fact that whereas the lines of communication in commerce have hitherto been along the lines of latitude, East and West, yet the natural channels are along the lines of longitude, North and South, for the North and South are mutually dependent upon each other, the one always producing what the other most lacks. The development of our own country so far has been an illustration of this. The tide of empire has been westward. Our great trunk roads have been from the East to the West. Our commerce has followed the parallels of latitude. But already a new movement is apparent in the tides of our national life. The North and the South are coming into closer and more intimate communication than ever before. We are moving freely up and down across Mason and Dixon's line, exchanging products and exchanging ideas, stimulating each other to nobler conceptions of duty and broader views of national affairs. In the immediate future when the great waterway is opened across the isthmus through which the main currents of the world's commerce are destined to flow, our Northern and Southern states are to be brought into such relations to one another as they have never known before. The cities of the Southern seaboard will take on new business and have unprecedented growth through the new commerce that shall be developed.

Out of this new development and these new relations to be established between the North and the South there should come to our country a new and splendid uplift of humanity, a great

forward movement toward the consummation of our hopes for unification of our whole country and for the perfection of each separate part. In this vast work the chief agency must be Christian education. Our main hope is the common school. We are recognizing this fact in the North as never before and are feeling our dependence upon it. It is on this account that we rejoice with you in the great educational revival which is sweeping over the South—one comparable to no other in the history of our land, certainly not since the time of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in New York and New England seventy years ago.

Bishop Lawrence has already reminded you that we of the North have our serious social problems to deal with as you of the South have yours. One of these is the problem of immigration. Multitudes of people, many of them poor and ignorant and depraved, are flooding our Northland, coming from every nation under the sun, especially just now from the Latin nations of southern Europe. I have lived the past twenty-five years in a little city where seventy-five per cent. of the population are foreigners or the children of foreigners. The assimilation of this heterogeneous mass of new population and its successful incorporation into the body politic is no easy affair, and we have found that the most effective agency to this end is the common school. Many of the original immigrants do indeed become intelligent and useful citizens; but Americans cannot be grown in a day or a year. Our hope is in the children. When the children can be passed through the various grades of our public schools, taught as they usually are by well-equipped teachers of Christian character and high purpose, they become Americans—with American ideals and purposes, with American enterprise and the American spirit. There is no other single agency so effective as this. The foreign home and the foreign church cannot produce the type of character necessary for American life. Out of our public schools come the boys and girls who are, in the future, to make the homes and the churches which in their turn will become the building forces of our civilization.

I am glad to be here and to come under the inspiration of this great Conference. I wish to share in the new and uplifting influence of this gathering as I may be able to share in it, and to make my profession of faith in the power of Christian education, broad and thorough and complete, an education of the head, the hand

and the heart, which shall perfect the manhood of the nation, develop its resources, and unify its people as the children of one Father, who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon the face of the whole earth.

The President of the Conference: I now ask the Rt. Rev. W. C. McVickar, D.D., of the Diocese of Rhode Island, to speak to us, and I trust he will be good enough to respond.

BISHOP McVICKAR.

When Mr. Ogden came to me a few minutes since, and said that he wanted me to speak, I began to understand some remarks which he made in introducing the first speakers in this extra program arrangement, namely, that we who were thus interjected into the schedule were not expected at a moment's notice to offer anything very solid to the morning's discussion, but only to furnish, as it were, a sort of interlude to the more formal addresses; in other words, to fill the place which the little girl assigned to the sermon in a church whose service had pretty much run to musical performances, where they had come to sing everything that could be sung and some other things besides. The sermon, she explained, was intended only as a chance for the choir to rest. So as I understand the purpose of these extra speakers, it is to furnish a little rest to these "wise men from the East," with their more solid theses, if not to the audience.

And let me say at the outstart that I am not very successful in putting what is large into a small space, although I have had much practice in attempting it, at least ever since I have been grown up, and especially in days of travel. You will therefore be indulgent if I bungle in saying all I want to say in a few minutes which are allotted to me. I have a good deal that I want to say to this audience.

First of all I want to express for myself, and in behalf of the company, of which I am an insignificant part, that is visiting your city at this time, the profound gratitude and admiration we feel for the very bountiful and warm hospitality which has been extended to us. We have been accustomed all our lives to hear of "Southern hospitality," and we have experienced that hospitality on other occasions, when we have visited the South; but we

have never known it more abundantly or more charmingly proffered than here in these last few days that we have been with you. You have made us feel so completely at home, and, I may add, we have so completely availed ourselves of your kindness, that it must have seemed to observers at times as if we owned the place, so royally has it been put at our disposal.

Well, as you know, we are here with you in the interest of the great cause of education, but as has been so gracefully put by our noble president, we are the ones, after all, that are surely being educated. For myself, I feel that with every day and hour, not only of these inspiring conferences, but, almost better still, with every hour of this happy social intercourse and communion, my life is deepening and enlarging with ever new experiences of the rich and essentially one humanity and brotherhood, which underlie all superficial differences and conditions. And where, indeed, could such experiences more surely ripen and come to flower than in this mellow "Southland" of yours—(I love that term); and at a time when everything speaks of growth and beauty, and all nature is aflame. Let me here make a confession which may also serve as an illustration of what I am saying. Two years ago on our yearly pilgrimage we were in Athens, Ga., and there, too, we were the recipients of a princely hospitality, and held high converse with choice and representative spirits. It was there that I first realized in its fulness the underlying unity and brotherhood of which I have spoken. After one of the meetings, at which there had been a most free and animated discussion, and one in which allusions to the Civil War had played a conspicuous part, someone said to me, "Rather delicate and ticklish matters were broached to-day." To which I answered, "I don't believe there can be any such thing as ticklish matters where there is such a spirit of frank friendliness, and such complete and mutual understanding." So completely and enthusiastically, indeed, had that spirit taken possession of the Conference that it adjourned over a session in order that its members might attend a gathering of citizens in celebration of the Confederate Decoration Day, at which the oration on "The Confederate Soldier" was delivered by a well-known Georgian. The oration was a very noble and thrilling one, and so generous as well as just in its accord of admiration and honor to the heroes of the North as well as to those of the South; and the response of applause on the




part of the large audience was so warm and enthusiastic that all hearts were swept in one common, overwhelming tide of emotion over the memory of brave deeds done and brave lives offered, albeit on different sides of the same altar of patriotism. And here comes my confession—tell it not in Gath! So completely was I, as one of the crowd, carried away that I did, what I should never have conceived possible on any other occasion, I contributed at the close of the meeting to the completion of a Confederate monument. What do you think of that for a “black-hearted republican?” I remember the story of two Irishmen who, for the first time in their lives, were travelers by night in a sleeping car. Toward morning an accident occurred which gave them a thorough shaking up. In the panic which ensued one of them, in putting on his clothes, got his trousers on hind part before, and in answer to his compatriot’s anxious inquiry as to whether he was altogether killed replied, “No, he thought not; but (regarding the peculiar disposition of his clothes) added that “he thought he must have sustained a fatal twist.” Well, my friends, I can only say, with Pat, I think that I, and many more beside me, must have sustained a fatal twist in these upsetting experiences and it is a twist that we shall not get over. But my firstly has become my all, and my time has expired.

Mr. George Pierce Baker, of the Department of English of Harvard University, was next introduced by the president of the Conference.

GEORGE PIERCE BAKER.

Friends: I think, after very delightful days on our train and here in Birmingham, I should divide that into Old Friends and New! Before our party reached Birmingham, Mr. Ogden, when he introduced us as a body to the audiences we have been meeting, used a word which I notice he has dropped. He called us his “curios”—a use of words which illustrates his well-known courtesy, for he—and the audiences—have been perfectly aware that the name usually given a collection of human curios is “freaks.” But if Mr. Ogden is too kind to call us “freaks” and fears we are weary of “curios” let me make a suggestion from an experience of Barnum and Bailey. “The Greatest Show on Earth” was in England, but was not duly appreciated by our English cousins. Something must



be done. Therefore, the astute manager called together all his "curios"—the tattooed man, the bearded lady, and the dog-faced boy—and suggested as a means of arousing public interest that the "curios" should publicly protest that their feelings were deeply wounded by the advertisements of them as "The Greatest Living Collection of Human Freaks." The idea was taken up with enthusiasm. The "curios" held a public meeting to pass votes of resentment, and appointed one of their number to write to the *Times*. That letter touched the public heart. Letters of sympathy and letters suggesting less brutal synonyms poured in for the *Times*; and meantime the public flocked to see these sensitive souls encased in strange exteriors. Finally, when manager and "curios" were rejoicing in well-filled coffers and unabated interest, a bishop—no less—wrote to the *Times*, gravely marshaling his arguments to prove that these sensitive souls should be called "prodigies." This the manager, now sure of his public, hailed as the final word, and thereafter in England the "Human Freaks" were advertised as "Prodigies." After what you have heard from those just preceding me will you not support me in suggesting to Mr. Ogden that hereafter he call his collection, "prodigies"? Of course they will blush, but stimulated by your delightful hospitality, I am sure they will deserve the title.

Bishop McVickar said that it is difficult to be in this party and not preach. It is; count the bishops and clergymen in this party, and you will see why. But I maintain that I have a special right to preach. Sailing down the coast of Spain once in a little tramp steamer, I had spent nearly all day in the wheel-house with the canny Scotch captain. Just as we were going down to dinner, he looked at me sharply and said: "What do you do for a living?" "What do you think?" "Well, I've been watching you as we've been talking, and I can't just make you out. You are either a minister or an actor." "No, I am a teacher." "Humph, a little of both!" If, then, I don't look as if I had come here utterly unprepared to speak that is the actor; and if I venture to preach a little, that is the minister.

I wonder whether this audience realizes the extent to which we represent in this party the colleges and universities of the Middle States and New England—Yale, Harvard, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, Amherst, Williams? I wonder, too,

whether these college graduates, professors and presidents, stirred, touched, perhaps inspired, by what they have seen and heard since they came into the Southland, have not had in mind often each man the motto of his alma mater. For many a man that motto sums up all the particular college he loves to call his means in thought and deed, and is one of his chief inspirations. I know that I for one, during these crowded ten days since we left New York, have had constantly in mind the motto which Harvard bears on her shield. Look where you will at Harvard, you will find on her walls, emblazoned in the jeweled glass of her memorial windows, the words *Christo et Ecclesiæ Veritas*. "For Christ and the Church. Truth." Doubtless to the rigid Puritans who chose those words they meant, "Truth for Christ and my particular creed," but the generations since, yes even some of the men on this platform have taught Harvard men to read that motto: "For Christ and the broadest service of mankind by truth."

Who can be a teacher to-day and fail to recognize what truth through education has yet to do for this country of ours—the alluring opportunities North, South, East and West? Surely none. But it is sometimes difficult to remember that even the questions we are prone to regard as particularly our own other men elsewhere are trying equally hard to solve, and that only by mutual understanding and sympathy, by co-operation, can the great educational opportunities of this decade be fulfilled.

Yet one cannot travel through any part of the country as we are traveling through your state and not recognize all this. It is only a short time since, in Ohio, I heard a group of representative men discussing earnestly one of the topics which has been treated here, improvement of the financial and the professional position of the teacher. To know at first hand the enthusiasm and the success with which you are grappling your problems in education must mean for us graduates and teachers of Northern colleges stimulation to heartier endeavor in our own work. And as we clasp the hands of these Southern educators whose patience, enthusiasm, and effectiveness the young men they have sent North to us have never wearied in praising, I am sure that Harvard motto is in the hearts and on the lips of us all—"For Christ and the broadest service of mankind by truth—through education!"

The President of the Conference: I now take great pleasure in introducing to this audience the Hon. Sydney J. Bowie, member of Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Alabama. Mr. Bowie will speak to us on the special topic of this morning, "Local Taxation for Public Education."

SYDNEY J. BOWIE.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In contemplating this question of local taxation for public schools, after reading all I can find upon the subject, and especially after giving it the most serious possible consideration, the wonder to me is, not how any one can be for it, but how can any one be against it.

The question involved is elementary. The great revolution of 1776 was fought under the magic cry of "No taxation without representation." This was but the assertion of the right of self-government. Who would have supposed, in view of the blood our forefathers shed in assertion of the principle that a parliament over the seas could not tax them without their consent, that in its stead a government should have grown up in our own midst under which their descendants were denied the privilege of determining whether or not they would levy a tax on their own property for their own benefit?

It is difficult for a disciple of Thomas Jefferson, who believes both in the right and capacity of a people—especially of this people—for self-government, to discuss the subject with those who would inhibit the right and question the capacity.

We have been told that every question has two sides to it, but we should never lose sight of the fact that one of these sides is right and the other wrong. The supreme question for us to consider is which side shall we take. "Under which king? Bezonian, Speak or die."

I suppose that in this audience I may quote without disapprobation and praise without disfavor the Father of Democracy, the most passionate believer of all men in the right and capacity of the people to rule, in many respects the most renowned and most useful statesman that this, or any other country, has produced. Said he:

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects to be what never was and never will be.

"The most effectual means of preventing the perversion of

power into tyranny are to illuminate as far as practicable the minds of the people.

"No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of peace and happiness. Preach a crusade against ignorance. Establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us from the evils of misgovernment.

"Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."


And in discussing his famous bill for the education of all the people of Virginia, he said: "The expense of the elementary schools for every county is proposed to be levied on the wealth of the county, and all children, rich and poor, to be educated at these three years free."

"The truth is that the want of common education with us is not from our poverty, but from the want of an orderly system. More money is now paid for the education of a part [referring to their private school system], than would be paid for that of the whole, if systematically arranged.

"What will be the retribution of the wealthy individual [for his support of general education]? First, the peopling of his neighborhood with honest, useful and enlightened citizens, understanding their own rights and firm in their perpetuation. Second, when his own descendants become poor, which they generally do within three generations (no law of primogeniture now perpetuating wealth in the same families), their children will be educated by the then rich, and the little advance he now makes to poverty, while rich himself, will be repaid by the then rich, to his descendants when they become poor, and thus give them a chance of rising again. This is a solid consideration and should go home to the bosom of every parent. It will be seed sown in fertile ground. It is a provision for his family, looking to distant times, and far in duration beyond what he has now in hand for them."

That this right ought to exist it seems to me will not admit of any serious controversy. The only point to decide is, is its exercise necessary?

There are some occasions when facts simply must be told and



the truth spoken. I know it comes hard, but in the midst of self-congratulation and self-praise, in the midst of self-glorification, let us not forget the danger of self-deception.

We all know that our state is great—the greatest in the world. We all know that our soil is fertile—the most fertile in the world. We all know that our climate is good—the best in the world. We all know that our women are beautiful—the most beautiful in the world.

But there are some things which we may not know, or at least which we are not in the habit of emphasizing. For instance, it may possibly be information to some that Alabama spends on education a less sum per capita for each pupil in actual attendance than any state in the Union. We are all aware, of course, that we spend less than the rich and wealthy states of the North, but some may, perhaps, hear for the first time that Alabama, upon which we are all accustomed to look as the richest state in point of mineral resources and mineral development in the South, and one of the richest in the Union, is behind every other Southern state, many of which are actually as well as relatively poorer than we are, in the sum appropriated for public education.

It may be said that a comparison between this state and some of the states of the North would be unfair, but certainly it will be no injustice to compare Alabama's record on that subject with Tennessee on the north, Georgia on the east, Florida on the south and with Mississippi and Louisiana and Texas on the west. The average expenditure per capita for each pupil in Tennessee is \$5.17; in Mississippi, \$6.48; in Georgia, \$6.93; in Florida, \$10.41; in Louisiana, \$8.82; in Texas, \$9.95; while in Alabama it is only \$4.41. Not another state in the Union, rich or poor, old or young, spends as little. Several of the states here quoted cannot compare with Alabama in natural wealth, in natural resources, in climate or in natural advantages. Let us carry the illustration a step further.

It is a remarkable fact that the percentage of illiteracy among the white males twenty-one years of age and upward in the state of Alabama is greater than it was in 1860, 1850 and 1840. The pioneers who came to this state when it was practically a wilderness and laid the foundation for its future greatness brought more education and culture with them than has descended to their

grandchildren and great-grandchildren who live here to-day. But stranger still than this, with all our boasted progress, while there has been some reduction of illiteracy since 1870, yet the actual number of illiterate white voters is now largely more than it was thirty years ago. The increase of male illiterates of twenty-one years and upward in the war decade from 1860 to 1870, was only 3,443, but in the thirty years of peace, from 1870 to 1900, the actual number of white male illiterates over twenty-one years of age increased from 17,429 to 31,614, an actual gain of 14,185. There were more white illiterates over twenty-one years in 1880 than in 1870; more in 1890 than in 1880; more in 1900 than in 1890. The percentage of illiterates among the white males over twenty-one years in 1840 was 11.9; in 1860 it was 12.2; in 1900, 13.6. So also has the total number of illiterates of both races over ten years of age increased in every decade of this state since 1870.

In Alabama in 1870 there were 383,012 illiterates over ten years of age; in 1900, 443,590, an increase of 60,578; in 1870, 92,059 white illiterates in Alabama over ten years of age. In 1900, 104,883, an increase of 12,834.

Compare this with Georgia, which has, during the same period, reduced its white illiteracy from 124,939 to 101,264. Compare it with Mississippi, which has reduced it from 48,028 to 36,844; compare it with Tennessee, which has reduced her white illiteracy from 178,727 to 159,086.

These are unpleasant facts, but if any dependence is to be put upon the records as published by the Census Bureau they state the simple truth.

Is it the part of wisdom or statesmanship to ignore these conditions or shall we, to quote the words of the immortal bard, "take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing, end them?" If you send for a physician, suffering from a dangerous malady, would you want him to prescribe a remedy before he had diagnosed the case, or would you want him to diagnose the case before he prescribed a remedy? The question comes home to us in the midst of all our boasting, "Why is all this? What explanation have we to make?" Fortunately the answer is plain, simple and easy of demonstration. There is no chance to fail in the diagnosis.

Alone of all the states in the American Union, Alabama has

denied to every minor civil sub-division in the state except incorporated towns the right of local taxation for public schools, and this is why they have languished and decayed. The only aid which our public-school system derives in our rural communities, which hold nine-tenths of our population, is from the state treasury. In our municipalities provision is made by law for municipal aid or supplement to the state fund.

When we turn from a contemplation of the facts which we have just presented as applicable to the whole state to the case as made with reference to the municipalities which have and exercise the right of local taxation or local appropriation from municipal treasuries in aid of public education, the change presents an inspiring and hopeful record. The total percentage of illiteracy among the whites over ten years of age in all of the cities in the Union having over four thousand inhabitants is eight-tenths of one per cent. In the South and in Alabama, it is only one and one-half per cent. In the North and West it is six-tenths of one per cent.

Now the difference between the illiteracy of the cities of the North and South is so small as to almost amount to a negligible quantity. It is practically non-existent, except as it is created by the tide of immigration from the illiterates in the surrounding country. The problem of self-help, of local aid by taxation, has solved the question in every town in every state, North and South, of over four thousand inhabitants, and probably in every town of over a thousand, certainly in most of the latter. If local aid will accomplish this result in our towns and cities of more than one thousand population, why should not the same aid accomplish the same result in our rural communities?

But there is another side to the picture. I dislike to dwell upon it, but Dr. Dabney says that in 1870 the negro illiterates outnumbered the whites by 90,000, but that in 1900 the white illiterates outnumbered the negroes by 277,000. That in June, 1900, there were in the United States 2,326,000 persons over twenty-one years of age unable to read or write. Of this number, 977,000 were of the negro race and 1,254,000 of the white race. Contrast these figures with 1870. In that year there were 838,000 negro illiterates, against 748,000 white illiterates. Of the white illiterates, a large proportion was foreign born, 565,000. But the number of native born is 688,000, or 113,000 more than the foreign-born illiterates.



Of all of this number of native-born white illiterates, the overwhelming majority is in the Southern states, and Alabama has an undue proportion.

Let us go a step further. In the eight counties of Blount, Cherokee, Cleburne, Cullman, Winston, Marion, DeKalb and Jackson there were 18,154 white illiterates over ten years of age in 1900, against 3,432 negroes. Contrast these with eight other counties in this state, in which the white illiterates number only 2,071, against 112,794 negroes. The percentage of illiteracy among the negro population of the state of Alabama was reduced in the decades from 1880 to 1900 from 80.6 to 57.4 per cent., or over 23 per cent., while in the same time the reduction of white illiteracy was only 10.2.

Can anyone contemplate these figures without feeling that they deserve consideration? We have heard a great deal about the negro problem in the South. We are disposed to sympathize and commiserate with ourselves upon the existence of this problem, and we have friends who feel that it is the only one we have to vex us; but I say to-day that the South has done its duty to the negro race, whether before or since the war. His progress in slavery was greater than it was in savagery, and his progress as a freeman in the Southern states has been all that anyone could expect.

The percentage of illiteracy among negroes over ten years of age in the South Atlantic states was reduced from 85 per cent. in 1870 to 47.1 per cent. in 1900; and in the South Central states from 86 per cent. in 1870 to 48.6 per cent. in 1900. During the same period of time, we have been told by so great an authority as the distinguished Commissioner of Education of the United States, that up to 1899 the South had appropriated \$109,000,000 for the education of the negro race. As this enormous sum has increased at the rate of six and one-half millions of dollars per annum since 1899, we find the startling total of more than one hundred and forty millions of dollars has been contributed by the South to the support of negro education since the war. Of this sum, less than five million dollars was paid by the negro. The Southern whites have, therefore, given to the negro every dollar of tax which he paid, and have added thereto the magnificent total of more than one hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars. A voluntary con-

tribution from one race for the benefit of another without a counterpart in the history of the human family!

Contrast these figures with the record of fifteen Northern states. In Maine, the per cent. of negro illiteracy has increased from 10.8 per cent. in 1870 to 25.8 per cent. in 1900.

In Wisconsin, from 23.6 per cent to 39.6 per cent.

In Minnesota, from 41 per cent to 41.2 per cent.

In Montana, from 12 per cent. to 48.2 per cent.

In Wyoming, from 34.6 per cent. to 41.1 per cent.

In Arizona, from 35.8 per cent. to 73.6 per cent.

In Nevada, from 6.3 per cent to 66.8 per cent.

In Utah, from 38.2 per cent. to 52 per cent.

In Washington, from 33.1 per cent. to 36 per cent.

In Oregon, from 26.5 per cent. to 36.1 per cent.

In California, from 9.6 per cent to 31.1 per cent.

In North Dakota, since 1880, from 44.2 per cent. to 59.2 per cent.

In South Dakota, from 44.2 per cent. to 51 per cent.

And in the western division of the United States, this negro illiteracy has increased from 16 per cent. to 42.8 per cent.

In the North Central and North Atlantic divisions, representing the wealthy and populous states of the East and the Middle West, there has been a reduction of negro illiteracy, but at a rate which will not compare with the South.

I contrast these figures in no spirit of criticism and I am aware that the percentage of negro population in some of the Northern and Western states, to which I have referred, is so small as to make the comparison of but little value, but I insert them in these remarks in order that it may be known that the South has nobly and grandly responded to whatever obligations existed upon her with reference to this unfortunate race. To-day the rights, the happiness, and the future of the negro race are better preserved and better protected in the South than in any other part of the globe. There has never been an instance since the day the English cavalier first set foot upon the historic ground of Jamestown to the present time, in which the South has failed, either in peace or war, to rise to the height of every question, to discharge the duty of every crisis, to bear without complaint its part of every burden and to do its full share in maintaining untarnished the national honor! Show me

that page of our country's history which has not been made brighter by the wisdom of her statesmen and the valor of her arms!

The history of the South is a glorious and inspiring one, and it has wisdom, courage, statesmanship and honor enough among its own people to meet every emergency, to solve and rightly solve, every question that is presented to it. But there is to-day confronting us in Alabama a problem which, if true to the proud traditions of our forefathers, and the glorious history which they have handed down to us, we must begin to solve, and solve at once. This question is the problem of white illiteracy. It has been stated over and over again, that the state of Alabama appropriated more than one-half of its general revenues for the purpose of education. This is true. We hailed with supreme satisfaction the provisions in our new constitution on the educational question. But in its practical analysis, how has it worked out? It largely increased the amount fixed in the constitution of 1875, and it also increased the amount which had theretofore been appropriated by the legislature, but the painful fact had as well be stated now as hereafter, that while there is an increase in the total amount raised by taxation under the new constitution, yet that increase was not as great as the increase in the school population. In other words, the per capita distribution to school-children between the ages of seven and twenty-one in 1902, before the constitution went into effect, was \$1.37, while in 1903, by reason of increased number of children, it was only \$1.31.

That the state cannot increase the amount it appropriates is plain. It needs every dollar of its surplus revenues for general public purposes; it gives now all it can. There are only three other sources which have been suggested.

The first—shall I name it?—is charity. That we could get it in quantities sufficient to be of any service to us is impossible. That we should ask it is unthinkable.

The second, is aid from the national treasury. This might have been obtained at one time if the South had been united in asking it, but they refused, and now, whether desirable or not, the opportunity is gone, and probably forever. "The mill will never grind again with the water that has passed."

The last method is by local taxation as a supplement to state aid. The problem of local taxation is simply to allow each com-

munity which wants it to levy a reasonable tax, under reasonable restrictions, upon its own property to educate its own people. This is the approved method in all the states. It has been tried with success in every state in the Union, North and South, except in the state of Alabama, and it has failed in none. In our own state alone are the people forbidden by our organic law to exercise this high function of a free people, the right to levy taxes upon their own property for their own benefit. Who shall say that the people cannot be trusted with this right? It is their own property. Can the right be justly taken from them? Those involved are their children. Can they not decide for themselves what they will do about it? I know there are some people who question the wisdom and policy of public education. It has always been so, but we are to-day witnessing the spectacle of a public-school system which is just sufficient in rural communities to destroy the private schools and not sufficient to reach the standard of those private schools of sixty years ago. We ought either to provide sufficient money for the operation of free public schools in the rural communities of our state, or we ought to go out of the business altogether and leave it to the private schools. I am not in favor of the latter, nor will the people listen to it for a single moment. We could not recall the private schools of the past, if we would—we would not if we could.

When I recall the fact that our native white illiteracy is greater now than it was in 1860; that the actual number of our illiterates, both black and white, is greater than in 1870, or 1880, or 1890; that the increase of our school fund has not kept pace with the increase of our school-children, I am reminded of the old story of the little boy who was late at school one day. The morning was very cold—a drizzling rain of the night before had been frozen over, so that the ground was covered with a coat of ice. The teacher indignantly demanded an explanation of his tardiness. "Well," said the boy, "I started early enough, but every time I took a step forward I slipped two backward." "How, then, did you get here?" thundered the teacher. "I turned around and went the other way." It seems to me that the time has come for Alabama to turn around and go the other way.

Under a recent act of our legislature, every school in the state receiving public aid is required to be taught free at least five months in the year. This statute is impossible of literal enforce-

ment in a few localities, but it has been generally observed, and in the main has had a wholesome and beneficial effect upon our public-school system. But it is not enough. The true idea is to permit, under fair restrictions and reasonable limitations, each local community in the state, needing and desiring it, the privilege of taxing its own property a sufficient sum, as a supplement to the state fund, to increase this free term from five to nine months in the year.

The value of local aid as a thing to be desired in itself, has never been better stated than in the words of the lamented Graham, delivered at your last Conference in Richmond in April, 1903. Said he: "My work and speeches have been along the line of stimulating the people to self-reliance and to the local support of their schools, looking ultimately to free public schools supported by local taxation, with the district as a unit. In my opinion every dollar, the giving of which is felt and is to some extent a sacrifice upon the part of the person making the contribution, whether voluntary or under form of law, consecrated to the cause of public education, is worth more to the contributor and to the growth of genuine patriotism than a hundred dollars which may come from unmerited, or unappreciated, or from misdirected philanthropy."

These inspiring words of this noble young Lycidas, called "ere his prime," state the whole case. Let them be cherished in our memories and translated into our deeds. Let us receive the mission as a high trust, bequeathed to us by our young and fallen leader, and here pledge ourselves to his noble spirit, looking down upon us from his mansion in the skies, that the banner which he so proudly bore shall be waved aloft and the cause for which he so proudly fought shall be carried to a triumphant victory!

The argument, then, in favor of local taxation, is twofold. First, it is a necessity. Second, no truly good results can come to pupil or community without it. It stimulates self-help, that keystone of character, that never failing avenue to success, when all else fails. It creates interest. It builds up patriotism. It accomplishes results.

Moreover, I have just referred you to the diverse conditions prevailing in different sections of our state. I have pointed you to eight counties which have over 18,000 white illiterates over ten years old to about 3000 negroes. I have also mentioned eight other counties where there are 2071 white illiterates against 112,-

794 negroes. Now some of the counties having a large white illiteracy may want to press forward and relieve it. Others having a different state of affairs, and contributing annually from three to five dollars per annum to negro education to one which they can lawfully contribute to white education, may feel that they have done enough, or at least are not yet ready to increase their appropriation for this purpose. Shall the counties or communities which are ready and anxious to go forward be compelled to wait upon the pleasure of those who are satisfied with existing conditions? Shall we make of our laws and policy a Procrustean bed, which stretched the men who were too short to the required length and cut off the legs of those who were too long?

The speed of a fleet is said to be that of its slowest ship. Shall the swift cruisers of our educational fleet be tied down to the speed of our monitors or gunboats? Is it wise or right to deny to one community what it wants and needs, and is willing to pay for, simply because some other community doesn't want it, doesn't need it and isn't willing to pay for it? The questions will answer themselves. To borrow the words of Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, "I am not in favor of compulsion in this matter. It is against compulsion that I speak."

I am aware that there is a provision in the state constitution of 1901 granting to counties upon certain conditions the right to levy a tax of one mill for public-school purposes. I favor the levy of this tax wherever practicable. But it takes a three-fifths vote of an entire county, and the fact is, portions of a county may be served with as good schools as they want, and therefore opposed to the levy of an additional tax. More than this, the amount is too small. It is impossible of execution in many of the counties; it is impracticable and insufficient in all.

We have been told that unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations, and that no question is settled until it is settled right.

It is idle to talk about this being a settlement of this question. A system of schools maintained largely by local taxation and guided and controlled by local interest is an absolute necessity here as it has been proved to be elsewhere. I tell you there can be no repose in Alabama until these fetters have been stricken from the limbs of freemen. On Thanksgiving Day, when our new constitution, by

proclamation of the governor, went into effect in 1901, the people of Alabama, for the first time since 1860, felt the chains of political bondage fall from their limbs. They have written and established, so far as their political rights are concerned, a constitution, which, in my humble judgment, is the best of any state in the Union. Having hedged about the ballot-box with ample safeguards and eliminated the debased and unfit portion of the population, we are free at last and, thank God, can speak our sentiments anywhere on any question that comes up for discussion.

Let no man think the fight for education has ended. It has only begun. It will not end until the curse of illiteracy is banished forever from our doors, and until our school system is the equal of any in the land.

We have heard it said that the door of hope should not be closed in the face of the negro. For the one hundred and four thousand whites, male and female, over ten years of age, who, in 1900, were illiterates and for their descendants I plead to you to-day that the door of hope may not be shut forever in their faces and that the hand of opportunity may be outstretched to them.

A distinguished statesman of Texas once said: "Turn Texas loose and let her grow!" To-day cannot we echo his words and say, "Turn Alabama loose and let her grow!" Strike from her limbs these fetters that bind and retard her growth, make free her citizenship, restore the right of self-government. Limit the taxation for educational purposes, but let the limit be reasonable and the method practicable. When this is done, and not until then, Alabama will take her rightful place in the galaxy of the states, the equal of any in progress and development, as she is to-day in material wealth, with which a generous Providence has endowed her!

The President of the Conference: By request of the Local Committee, the Rev. Dr. H. C. Cummings, of Boston, Mass., will occupy a few minutes in speaking of a local philanthropic enterprise.

#### H. C. CUMMINGS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. Ogden said that I wanted to speak to you just for a few moments by the request of some local committee, with regard to a very important enterprise

which we have been hearing about. As a matter of fact, when Mr. Ogden took us on this educational party, he told us we must attend to business—that is to say, we must attend strictly to the meetings, and learn all we could, and we don't dare go home and face him there unless we have done our duty in that respect. I suspect that his action at this moment is in the nature of a punishment, because I have been playing truant.

I have been in a room over in yonder corner, and I should like to say for the benefit, not only of the citizens of Birmingham, but of the whole state of Alabama, that I have been sitting at the feet of one of the truest teachers that it has ever been my privilege to listen to—and I have been going to school more than half my life to the best kind of teachers that the world affords. I say I have been sitting at the feet of one of the ablest and most inspiring teachers that it has ever been my privilege to know, I refer to your distinguished fellow citizen, Judge Feagin, of Birmingham; and I am, here simply to express my sense of obligation, I am here to express my sense of gratitude at what I have learned this morning from him, with regard to another and a greater department of education.

You know that one of the greatest problems of any community is caring for the boys and the girls who become what we call our juvenile criminals. In the state of Massachusetts, where I live, we thought that we had learned something with regard to the best methods of solving this part of the educational problem. We thought we knew something about the great truth that judges and courts and the officials of the law were not there for the purpose of putting prisoners in jail, but for the purpose of keeping people out of them. We thought we knew that we must begin with the children, that we must have separate courts for them. We thought we knew that we must use the appropriate system, a separate system, for the younger and the older, put them under moral influences, keep them so far as possible out of the institutions which taint their reputations and make it hard to go back and earn their bread. We thought that we had learned many other things, but I find that some of you have learned them better and that, best of all for you and for your future, your teachers are the judges at the head of your great legal institutions; and I wish simply to congratulate you that you have such teachers, that you have men on your benches like Judge Feagin, who know the best that the world has



to teach, who can tell you to-day the very latest inventions that the world has made with regard to the solution of the great problems of criminality. He is here ready to lead you on, and there is no better investment in point of money, in point of morals, in point of statesmanship, than to fall in behind him, and absolutely, men, women and all, go whither he leads; and I believe that in his leadership you will find yourselves absolutely leading the world.

Mr. President, allow me in conclusion simply to take this opportunity as one of the members of this party which has been entertained, to express my own deep and affectionate sense of obligation to the citizens of Birmingham, and of many of the towns who have entertained us throughout the state. The other day at Tuscaloosa some one pinned the colors of the State University on my coat and, as Professor Baker said, I was glad to have them there, first because one of those colors, the crimson or the red, is the color of my own beloved university, and I was glad to have them there, because I thought to myself that after all they were the red and the white, and that is two-thirds of the national colors; and the blue skies, which arched over us, and roofed us all into one common country, and one common family of brothers and sisters—that makes the third. Ladies and gentlemen, we shall go home feeling proud of our country, because we have known our brothers and sisters here in the South, and we shall always wear the red and the white of Alabama in our hearts.

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### THIRD DAY.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The Conference was called to order by the president, shortly after eight o'clock, in the Jefferson Theatre. As at the previous sessions, the attendance was not only representative, but was so large as to tax the capacity of the building. The president first introduced Dr. Charles D. McIver, President of the State Normal College, of Greensboro, N. C.

#### CHARLES D. McIVER.

I do not know how to make the kind of speech our President, to my surprise, has called upon me to make. I did not know when I came here to-night that I was to make this or any other kind of



speech, but I will venture the remark that I suspect that not many of us realize the significance of the great Conference in which we are taking part. This is the only educational association in the world presided over by a great merchant, the vice-president formerly a minister, the secretary a physician, and the treasurer, I am thankful to say, a banker.

I do not believe that there was ever such a company of people so organized for the purpose of public education. Teachers everywhere meet to discuss purely professional work and ideals, and frequently they pass resolutions pointing out the duty of others; but we teachers have lived too much to ourselves and have not influenced the thought and action of the most influential citizens of our own generation, accustomed to think only of influencing the thought and action of the leading citizens of the generation that comes after us. We have not always done that as well as we wanted to do it, but I think it was generally because we did not have the wherewithal to take care of ourselves and those dependent upon us and to fit ourselves for our great task.

I am glad, therefore, to see this combination of teachers allied in educational endeavor with business men. If the business men of the country will give the teachers a fair chance, the people will be educated.

We frequently hear comments on the inferiority of teachers. Can we expect to secure the most capable men and women to train children at a smaller wage than we pay convicts from the penitentiary when we employ them to work on our public roads? I heard once of an enterprising Jew who sold "a first-class overcoat for \$5," and in an hour the customer came back to him complaining about the inferiority of the coat and saying that he had found that the coat had holes in it and that it was full of moths; whereupon the Jew said, "What did you expect to find in a first-class overcoat for \$5? Did you expect it to have humming-birds in it?" There is nothing in this house that we would let a \$40 a month laborer work upon except the brains of our children. You listened to a magnificent address here last night on the economic value of education; but a weakling cannot train boys and girls into great men and women whose education has economic value. We must have masters as teachers. I would prefer that my boy and girl should come into occasional contact with a master spirit even if they did

not gain so much literary training than to come in contact with a teacher with all the degrees that the colleges can confer, but who is a wooden sort of person without generous ambition and without the power to inspire generous ambition in others. Let us keep impressing upon the public that in order to secure masterful teachers, who are the seed-corn of civilization, whose business it is to hand down from this generation to the next the best that we have been able to see and know and do and dream, we must be willing to invest in the trainers of our children more money and time and thought than we have ever yet invested in them. I do not want my children taught geography by a person who has never been outside of the congressional district in which she is teaching. I do not want my children to be taught the relation between capital and labor by a man or woman who never expects to see more than \$150 or \$200 capital for a year's salary.

It is not a question of wasting the time of a child for six or seven years, but it is the waste of time of an effective worker in after-life—man or woman. Too many people underrate the value of a child's time. This reminds me of a story of an Alabama farmer. When the teacher in his district visited his home, the farmer was feeding his hogs, throwing out ears of corn to them, and the hogs were eating it greedily, when the following dialogue took place:

Teacher.—“Mr. Jones, why do you feed your hogs that way?”

Farmer.—“What do you mean, professor? What other way is there to feed them?”

Teacher.—“You are feeding them dry corn. It ought to be wet, and would be better if it were warm.”

Farmer.—“Don't the hogs seem to like the corn, and don't they seem to be fattening? It would give me a heap of trouble to always have the corn wet.”

Teacher.—“But, Mr. Jones, don't you know that it is a scientific fact that it takes twice as long to digest dry food as it does wet food?”

Farmer.—“No, professor, I never heard of it before; but anyhow, how much do you calculate that a hog's time is worth?”

And, so, there are people who seem to think that a little child's time is worth nothing, and waste it by putting it in charge of a teacher without skill and inspiration. We forget that it is a man

or woman's time we are wasting. Six or seven years of a child's life wasted means sixty or seventy years of effective manhood or womanhood wasted. Let us move forward with this educational revolution, aided by business men, clergymen, physicians, and other professional people of all classes, and make this country and this world what it ought to be by selecting for the seed-corn of our civilization, and by procuring it at any cost, the strongest, most generous, most far-sighted, and most cultured men and women that this world has in it to train the children of to-day to become the men and women of to-morrow.

The President of the Conference: Now we want to step for a few moments into one of the great universities, and I shall now fulfil another one of my promises that another shall be heard from to-night by calling upon the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Secretary of Yale University.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I can see no reason why I, as a young man, should be called upon to say a few words here this evening, for I have simply come down into this Southland to see and to learn, not to teach. I am not a person of any distinction whatsoever, unless it be that I realize that I am a person of no distinction, and that is in these days some distinction.

To show you how little distinction I have, let me tell you a story. A few days before I left New Haven I received a letter from a firm that was publishing an annual entitled "Distinguished Americans," or with some similar title, enclosing a brief statement in regard to my life, giving the time and place of birth, and a few other facts. There was attached to this statement a note in the handwriting of the editor, saying, "You are not quite up to our standard, but if you will pay \$10, we will see that this sketch is included in our publication."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I realize fully that I am not up to the standard, but I am so anxious, not to leave Birmingham, but to return to keep an engagement in New Haven on Sunday by Mr. Ogden's special train to-night, that I dared not refuse when he asked me only a few minutes ago to say a few words to you.

You have perhaps heard the story of the Bishop of Pennsylvania; he was marrying a girl who was what we would call to-day

"a new woman." She did not like the word "obey" in the marriage service, and you know that in the services according to the Book of Common Prayer, the minister uses the words "love, honor and obey," and the woman repeats the words after him. In this case the minister, the Bishop of Pennsylvania, said, "Love, honor and obey"; the new woman said, "Love and honor." The Bishop of Pennsylvania said, rather strenuously, "Love, honor and obey"; she said, "Love and honor." The bishop then turned sharply around and closed the prayer-book, and the woman said, "Love, honor and *obey*." When I came to the platform this evening and Mr. Ogden asked me if I would say a few words, I heard the door of Car A in our special train closing in my face unless I replied "Yes," and so there was only one thing to do.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot begin to tell you how much I have enjoyed these Conferences. It seems to me that it was peculiarly fortunate that Alabama and Birmingham should have been chosen as the place where they were to be held. I cannot forget that this is the state which produced Dr. Curry, who, I doubt not, more than any man in this generation, has stirred up that splendid enthusiasm for education which we have seen here these past days. I cannot forget that this was the state which produced Mr. Graham. I cannot forget that this is the state of Mr. Murphy, I cannot forget that this is the state of that pure-minded, noble-souled woman, Mrs. Johnson, who has done so much to improve conditions in the institutions of this state. It seems to me, then, peculiarly appropriate that we should have met in Birmingham, and in Alabama, and if you ask me what is the thing that has impressed me most as I have listened to these addresses here, I would say without hesitation that it is the fact, that not only *will* the problems of the South be solved, but that the problems of the South *are being* solved, and that they will be and are being solved along the line of that noble oration with which we were greeted by Bishop Galloway on the first day of this Conference. The essence of that address seems to me to be the spirit of *noblesse oblige* on the part of those who have received and inherited the best of the culture and education of this old commonwealth.

A few years ago, a friend from New England went to Russia with a companion. The friend died in Russia and the companion cabled home regarding the death, and said that the body was being

shipped over by steamer. The relatives went down to the pier in New York to receive the remains, brought them up to the New York residence, and to their great astonishment, found not the body of the New England lady, but of a Russian general in full uniform. They cabled over to the companion in Russia, telling what had happened, and the reply came back, "Don't return the Russian general, your aunt buried here with military honors." Now, my friends, the heroes of the South and of the North have been buried, and they have both been buried with military honors, and I hope and pray that the generals of the South and the generals of the North may not be returned, but that when generals are returned, they may always be generals of the United States, and they may return only when we meet in company shoulder to shoulder as defenders of our common liberty and institutions.

There were a large number of Southern men in my class in Yale College, and we decided to plant as our class ivy a slip from the ivy on the grave of Robert E. Lee. The class decided without a dissenting vote that nothing could be more appropriate than that we forget the jealousies and envies and hatreds of the past, and that we all unite in doing honor to one whom no one could know in life or in history without honoring his character. The ivy was planted, but to our great distress a hot-headed son of the North pulled it up the day after. The class was indignant. The action did not express the judgment of a man in the class, and I dare say it did not express the judgment of one man of the 2500 men in the university, so our class has recently decided that when we return at decennial we shall plant two slips from two vines, the one a slip from the vine that is over the grave of General Grant, the other a slip from the vine that is over the grave of General Lee, and the two vines will grow up together, intertwining on the walls of Yale. My friends, there should be, it seems to me, a spirit of unity, but there is something even better, more fundamental than uniting North and South, if any such uniting is now any longer necessary, and that is that each and all of us should unite in his own heart, a love for God and a human love for man. If we can all have growing up in our hearts the two ivys, one standing for the love of God, the other standing for the love of man, we may face the future fearlessly, and hopefully, knowing that nothing can in the future ever separate us.

The President of the Conference: I wish now to introduce to you Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Cambridge, Mass.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: As a man grows older he becomes accustomed to have his introduction more or less retrospective and often very remotely so. It often reminds me at least of a time when I was invited by a clergyman in my native town of Cambridge to meet at dinner a pair of young English authors, whose united age was not perhaps very far from mine. I found myself sitting at the lady's side, as we began our meal. As we took our first spoonful of soup, she looked up at me with that confiding and sympathetic confidence which does not always mark her nation, and remarked to me, "Isn't it rather a pity, don't you think, that all the really interesting Americans seem to be dead?" I had seldom known a living American to be placed at a greater disadvantage, and our whole conversation consisted in obituary notices of the deceased and apologies on my part that I was not yet added to their number.

I find myself not for the first time in the Southern states, and I welcome again the regions which I knew in my youth more or less. I had Southern cousins whose winter life on the plantation was dear to me, though not in this state, but in Virginia. Whenever I return here, it is with mingled recollections of peace and war, and also with recollections of that most interesting time ten years after the war, when I was sent to represent the New England states at the Cowpens celebration and was the guest of General Haygood, whom I had known on the opposite side at Port Royal. I found myself now also side by side with Wade Hampton, whose broad and gracious presence removed all that solicitude which my former friends had endeavored to impress on my mind as a signal of danger before I went away. It takes some time, as you know, to convince our female friends that war is over—as I came down here on this visit with a last parting word from a somewhat anxious relative, a cautious lady, who advised me above all things not to allow myself to be addressed by the title "Colonel," for if so no one could answer for my safety among those formidable Southerners!

When, however, I entered upon your streets yesterday and

saw some young Southern soldiers marching out from their armory; and when I learned their immediate errand, I wished that I might have known of their destination in time that I might ask of them the privilege of joining their ranks, for that occasion only, and doing my share to honor the graves of the Confederate dead. There would have been nothing individual or unusual about this. It has been done more and more since the war by the living soldiers of both armies, on their different memorial days, and it is a pleasure to me to think that my first example in doing it came not from the white man, but from the voluntary action of my regiment of black soldiers, the first black regiment, if I may be allowed to remind you, enrolled in the Union army in 1862. Having to decorate the graves of the Union dead on a certain camp in South Carolina, my men voluntarily spread the decorations also over some Confederate graves that lay near them, and thus forgave both the jealousies of antagonistic soldiers and the long wrongs, as they thought them, of slavery. After that how could I have done less, and in view of such an act, may I not be pardoned if I say to-night what no one else has had occasion to say here, namely, a word to those of that colored race whom I see at a far distance in the upper gallery. I wish to say to those men, as one who has reason to know and trust them, that of all the classes in this community who have reason to watch with interest the progress of these meetings, and to bless God for the result, they are the men who can least afford to be indifferent. They, at least, cannot afford to be otherwise than patient, when the very men who have worked hardest for their instruction, the very men who have put their hands in their pockets most deeply for their benefit, the very men who have, as I understand, doubled the amount raised for schools in Alabama, during the last few years, and largely for their good—when those men act and consult upon their affairs, those men can be trusted. I would say to you that during all these discussions, in all this urgent demand for a wider and costlier education, there never has been a word of distinction on this platform in regard to race or color as such, not a word. It has been a work for "the people." It has been "the young people of Alabama," the young people of this community, the student population as a whole, of whom they have talked. They have never made a distinction in regard to the appropriations to be sought or



demand, or in regard to their purpose to put through the claim of education for all the youths of the state here represented.

The magnificent address which we heard last night from the Bishop of Mississippi took that comprehensive position firmly, and though I might object to some of his details, he met the main question, namely, education, so perfectly that it made his speech, it seems to me, not merely a speech before an evening audience, but before a state; indeed, not merely before a nation, but before posterity. Unless I make a mistake in my foresight, that speech of his will be put down in history as a distinct step in the progress of education in America. Give the whole people education and the other matters will settle themselves for the best under the Providence of God, sooner or later.

One of the last things I did at home before coming away was to attend a meeting of a military club of which I have the honor to be an officer, the Loyal Legion. I took with me a Confederate officer of high rank, of whom I had something to tell my fellow Union officers there, that I knew would sweep all hearts by the mere mention, as it did. My guest had served in one of the most momentous battles of the Civil War, where he was chief on the staff of one of the two most renowned Confederate generals, and my companion had offered his life for his officer in a form I had never heard of in any other instance. Many a man has died for his chief officer, as he might have died at home for one he loved, but this was a different form of devotion. In the midst of that battle, amid a storm of shot and shells, that beloved commander fell dead among them; they raised his dead body with difficulty, put him on a stretcher, and were bearing him from the field, when suddenly, by some increased impulse in the firing, the shot and the shells began falling so fast that it seemed as if this lifeless form upon the stretcher would be torn in pieces. The officer whom I introduced then threw himself on the body of his chief and lay across him so that, although he could not save that chief's living form from injury, he would protect his dead body from mutilation. He risked his own life, his home, his children, his hopes, everything, to save merely the external form of that chief from mangling, and that chief was Stonewall Jackson. This officer, now a modest clergyman in Richmond, the Rev. Dr. Smith, was the man I presented before that Loyal Legion, and who received a greeting such

as I have never seen received by an officer of our own army, however distinguished his services. In view of such facts as that, how can we help feeling that the war, as you, Mr. Chairman, suggested, is over and gone, that while its grief still touches us, its jealousies do not. Well may we say with one of your own Southern poets, Francis Finch:

By the flow of the inland river,  
When the fleets of iron have fled,  
Where the blades of the grave grass quiver,  
Asleep are the ranks of the dead.

Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day,  
Under the one the blue;  
Under the other the gray.

From the silence of sorrowful hours,  
The desolate mourners go,  
Lovingly laden with flowers,  
Alike for the friend and the foe.

Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day,  
Under the rose the blue,  
Under the lily the gray.

No more shall the warcry sever,  
Or the winding rivers be red;  
They banish our anger forever  
When they laurel the graves of our dead.

Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day,  
Love and tears for the blue.  
Tears and love for the gray.

The President of the Conference: I now recur to the regular order of the program for this evening, and I beg leave to introduce the first of the appointed speakers, Mr. John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass. Mr. Brooks has been asked to speak to us on "The North and the South in the Conference for Education."

## JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

The topic assigned to me recalls a definition by that subtle and admirable Belgian writer, Maurice Maeterlinck. It is his description of hell. "Hell," he says "is the state of infinite misunderstanding."

There are probably few of us who have not experienced partial and temporary hells through very petty misunderstandings; misunderstandings with friends, neighbors or kindred closer still. The worst of it was not the heartache or bitterness, but the outright clumsy injustice to others that such misunderstandings so often entail.

Our Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, just now in this country, said at the Twentieth Century Club, in Boston, a few days ago : "Our chief perplexities and difficulties in the new work of our government in Porto Rico come from our misunderstandings with the people there. We mean to bring six hundred of them here this summer to help remove some of these embarrassments."

The class misunderstanding in much of our Northern labor question at the present moment has altogether too much hell in it. One chief element in the long tragedy of injustice toward our native Indians is that until very recently we never even tried to understand them through the moving forces of their traditions and thus get their point of view.

The honest attempt really to understand religious periods, peoples, situations differing from our own, is the very mint-mark of good intelligence and good morals. I do not know any attempt that has in it more hope or more promise.

We have won religious toleration only about so far as we have been at pains to understand phases of religion differing from our own.

One of the highest American officials in China, after thirty years' residence, told me he had always believed in the work there of our Christian missionaries, but, he added, as long as they misunderstand the Chinese they fail in their mission. Until they get the sympathy which comes from knowing the Chinese character and what is good in their religion, our missionaries accomplish nothing. Their work for good dates from the time when the missionary sees that he has about as much to learn as he has to teach.

Such political toleration as we have won has been gained in no other way. One is sure, then, in saying of these Conferences that they offer the possibility and the conditions of learning and of understanding upon which common sympathies and toleration depend.

In trying to throw light on the educational benefits of these Conferences one's truest word is likely to be from his own experience. At least one's estimate should begin there. Most of us, after some reflection, could tell with considerable definiteness how these gatherings had softened, deepened and broadened our opinions on the greater issues which these conferences raise.

If we first gave general statement to these mental changes it would be doubtless in some such form as this from those of us who come from the North : "In the eye to eye and heart to heart contact which these meetings make possible we so far live into the Southern point of view as to get from it so much intellectual sympathy that we can at least understand it."

To understand with sympathy points of view differing from our own is the beginning of all hopeful work, which as citizens of one country we have to do together, and it seems to me of utmost importance to remember that the amount and variety of work which we have to do together steadily increases. As the nation grows more compact; as it is year by year bound more closely, part to part, by all sorts of electrical and transportation agencies, we shall have as a nation more problems that all of us must work out in common.

Of all educational problems this is supremely true. If I wanted to do the North the best service known to me, I should take the Hampton and Tuskegee kind of education and scatter it through every state north of Mason and Dixon's line. Your need of this is also our need. In nothing will the North and South win a spirit of sustaining fellowship and good-will more surely than in meeting together these common needs.

If I wished to try my hand at a definition of real civilization, I should say that it consisted in that largeness of spirit that can sink once for all every merely narrow, sectional feeling out of sight, and act greatly and generously for the nation's welfare.

These Conferences enlarge and deepen this spirit in us every time we meet.

to differ. Every Conference has helped to change that. Those points of disagreement have steadily sunk into the background, and more and more prominently have come into my mind the points of agreement. Now, almost instinctively, I try to find, not how we differ or what separates us, but what it is that unites us in the common work of making our whole national life strong and safe."


I wonder if one could express in fitter phrase the deeper faiths at the heart of this Conference work. Ours is an increasing purpose to find those ways along which with the knitted strength of all together, North, South, East, and West, we may as one people, carry on the highest, hardest task given to the new century of education, so that our national life and will may become not only strong and safe, but humane and just.

The President of the Conference: I now take pleasure in introducing Dr. S. C. Mitchell, professor in Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia; who will speak to us on "The Present Situation in the South."

#### S. C. MITCHELL.

Since the last meeting of this Conference certain alignments in the South have become definite; cleavages have become clear; tendencies have become personified. Certain forces, hitherto apologetic, if not secretive, have come boldly to the front. A year ago Southern opinion was still in solution; since then it has been precipitated. What was once deemed the radical notion of an irresponsible person here and there has recently headed up in public addresses, state elections, and representative officials. Yesterday we were all moving together as a mass down the highroad, no one knowing exactly whither; to-day we stand at the parting of the ways. Facing thus the forks of the road, as Hercules of old, let us listen to the alluring spirits that would fain tempt us to take this or that prong. Whither do these ways diverge? What of the paths and their reputed destinations? The answer to these questions will perhaps best show the tremendous significance of the present educational campaign.

Vardamanism is a new word for an old thing. Issues are never clear until they become concrete, become embodied in a person. Vardamanism has grasped the helm in Mississippi. Explanations



and extenuating circumstances, I am aware, are offered to account for his ascendancy; but, brushing these aside for the moment, it remains true that Major Vardaman is the governor of my native state. Not only so, but Vardamanism may be expected to make its appearance in each of the Southern states in turn. Indeed, in some or them it is already present in considerable strength. Witness Senator Gorman in Maryland, Senator Tillman in South Carolina, and Mr. John Temple Graves in Georgia. And furthermore, in the fulness of time these widely diffused forces may come to a head in some man of Titanic personality; some man combining with precise purpose, deep conviction, and firm will, the fanatic zeal of a Peter the Hermit; a man who will force the race issue to the front and who will give national adhesion and crusading fervor to his followers. When this electric connection is completed between the reactionary forces in each of the Southern states, when this Alaric has appeared, then "the hurly-burly's done."

You will not, I am sure, misunderstand my use of the names of these gentlemen. I do so simply, to abbreviate and make concrete the definition of the tendency to which I refer. These names have for me no more personal feeling than do the algebraic  $x, y, z$ , to the mind of the mathematician. They stand for an attitude of mind toward the supreme question of racial adjustment in the South. Each of them would, no doubt, differentiate his own position; one holding the policy of disfranchisement, another the policy of ignorance, another the policy of deportation, and still another the policy of extermination. Differ, however, as these men may in method, yet they would all alike deny the negro education and in general repress him. In essence, they deny not so much that they are their brother's keeper as that they are their brother's brother. Under no circumstances would I misrepresent the position of these Southern leaders; for leaders they are, and I have no disposition to understate their influence upon the public mind nor the integrity of character upon which such influence may be based. But enough of characterization, for in this case there is no need to ask, "What's in a name?"

These gentlemen stand for something, for something clear-cut, for something that appeals to racial instincts, sectional prejudices and partizan passions. That there are potential forces back of these men, no one can doubt. The import of the burning of human

societies to give the major portion of their strength, bringing to this work the trained sagacity of the specialist and the treasured experience of the statesman. I look for tremendous results from renewed endeavor for the religious betterment of the blacks. To this end plans are already forming, as we know, in certain influential religious bodies.

The press of the South is guided by generous impulses. It has struggled under an obscurantism that would have blurred the vision of men less endowed. To-day the press is giving forth no uncertain sound. It craves a larger freedom, which it will be accorded. It is conservative, as the delicate status of our dearest liberties demanded that it should be. But it is backed by that Saxon spirit of fair play, and has wrought marvelously for the furtherance of the present educational revival. In the future an even more aggressive leadership may be expected from the press in its earnest contention for what are deemed to be the best interests of the South and of the nation. Many an editor in the South has, during these trying times, shown a spirit of quiet heroism and faith that is only the more effective because not insistent of its own merit.

It is, however, to the school, the common school, that we must look for the main leverage to uplift the masses of our people in this democracy. It is to be noted that the South makes a new demand of the school. Elsewhere you seek through it economic efficiency and political character. But the school in the South must furnish forces that will conduce to racial adjustment as well as to economic efficiency and political character. All of these ends are important, but racial adjustment is the deeper nerve of Southern life.

Since the close of Monroe's administration politics has not been the chief concern of the South. The initial energy of the South in the national cause began then to exhaust itself. The change in Calhoun's attitude from nationalization to nullification, which took place about 1825, marks an epoch in the history of America, for the transit of Calhoun's mind was due not so much to the idiosyncrasies of a particular thinker as to the exigencies of the Southern situation, which was just then beginning to be clearly discerned. The fog had lifted—or settled, if you prefer. The reason for the altered attitude toward national destiny is not far to seek. The



South found itself holding the wolf by the ear, and in such a predicament had to forego any thought for less critical concerns. Every subsequent activity upon the part of the South has to be interpreted in the light of this impelling motive. Locked in the embrace of slavery, with its attendant problems, the South could not give due heed to either economic or political questions. In the increasing stress of the storm, mast and even helm were no longer thought of.

The Missouri compromises, nullification in South Carolina, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the Confederacy, recently amended constitutions, all these typical issues show that the artery of Southern life has been racial. Political and economic bearing these issues have had, I grant you, but in their exciting cause they are the outcome of the existence upon the same soil of two races unlike and difficult of adjustment. In the presence of this frowning Pharaoh, race identity has, like Aaron's serpent-rod, swallowed up all other issues. Politics in this section since 1825 has been only the surface play; the undercurrent, often uncontrollable, has always been racial. The South is not so much partizan as unpolitical. We have factions based upon personalities; we have no separate parties based upon principles, either political or economic. Our leaders see and deplore this fact, even yearn for the advent of a respectable opposition party. Where there is only one debater, there can be no discussion; yet democracy is only government by discussion.

The isolation of the South from national affairs grows out of its engrossment in the intense racial predicament in which destiny has involved it. Outside activities have had to be abandoned in the dire appeal of her own children. It is the mother heart of Rachel weeping for her own.

If, then, the nation wishes to set free the energies of the South, to develop, in behalf of all, the resources of this section; to restore the South to a rightful share in the political life of the whole country; to recover the advantage of the co-operation of these millions of pure Anglo-Saxon minds with political instincts strong, sound, and sagacious; to call up at this juncture the reserves of the South and wheel them into the forming line of the world's advance, it is necessary to hear sympathetically this cry of Rachel, to release the tension of her mother heart, to bring succor to white and black in



their mutual struggle to rise to higher levels of life through popular enlightenment, industrial progress, and righteous racial adjustments.

National aid—strictly through the agency of the state—to elementary education, is the enginery that must speedily be called into play. National aid to education was heartily favored by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, of honored memory. The national government now aids education in the states through the A. and M. colleges, such as the Virginia Polytechnic, at Blacksburg. Paternalism in a monarchy is fraternalism in a democracy. In the dense shadow of overhanging ignorance certain it is that no plant can grow with full vigor. The one thing is to get rid of that stunting shade. Give the South only sunshine, rift by kindly rays of light the cloud of illiteracy and racial suspicion, and her people will advance by leaps and bounds in all the elements of progress and power; for these Saxons are inherently noble, capable and responsive to the highest ideals of civic virtue.

The marvelous thing to-day is not that Mississippi has grown restive under the burden of duplicate schools, but that she has had the heroism to bear so long the burden under these hard conditions. In Mississippi only 41.3 per cent. of the population is white. This minority has had to furnish capital, initiative, brains and conscience for the whole mass. The strain, accordingly, upon their resources in maintaining the higher life of the state has been appalling. All honor to those noble men for standing to their post thus far, in their superb self-reliance even rejecting the suggestion of outside aid. But there is a limit to human endeavor. And only the sympathetic co-operation of the nation can bring relief to a situation that is well-nigh intolerable. Can we in such a crisis halt at constitutional quibbles, when the civilization of the South is at stake? If it was right to use the national arm to free the slave and to clothe him with citizenship, surely it is right to use the same hand to fit him for civic efficiency. Freedom then, fitness now. Adopt what order you may, fitness is as imperative as freedom. Without this, freedom itself is a delusion to the negro and a menace to the white man.

The North gained by the tonic effect of the moral appeal in behalf of the abolition of slavery. This, as regards the South, has been offset in part by the mellowing influence of defeat. There is

an active element in suffering. Forty years of suffering cannot count for naught. In the silent reserve, in the heroic patience, in the deep consciousness of a wish to do right, however confused the way, the South has found compensations. Yet I cannot resist the belief that in the appeal of the negro's weakness to our strength the white people of the South have a challenge given our fortitude, magnanimity, spirit of self-denial and sense of justice which puts us on our mettle. There are two tests of strength: the one, to push down; the other, to pull up. Let us try the latter. If we prove equal to this task, in the very process of its achievement, we shall pass through a divine discipline and development that may form a signal page in history. "Faith and hope belong to man as creature; love constitutes his likeness to God."

The President of the Conference:

And now we will hear from the Rt. Rev. Davis Sessums, D.D., of Louisiana, some of his impressions of this Conference for Education. It is a privilege to be able to introduce him to this audience.


#### BISHOP SESSUMS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: By the benevolent gleam of Mr. Ogden's presidential eye, when he bids me give some impressions of the Conference and emphasizes the word "some," I see that he believes me to be favorably impressed, and yet suggests a warning that I shall give a few pages and not a whole volume of reflections. He is obviously aware that it would be a perilous liberty, at this hour of the night, to permit a speaker to range at will and to his fill upon the rich pastures presented in these discussions; but, despite his warning, I am still hopeful that he does not mistake me for a certain political speaker erstwhile widely famed—concerning whom it was said that he was a stream both narrow and winding, forty miles long and just  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep. I am reminded of the Arkansas farmer who sat at eventide at his cabin door, clasping affectionately in a hand none too skilled his trusty violin. A traveler saluted him, and skeptically said: "My friend, can you play the fiddle?" "Well, anyhow," said the farmer, "I guess I can pick out a few symptoms of old Dan Tucker!"

My duty, therefore, is to pick out a few symptoms; and before I proceed to try to do so I beg the indulgence of the members of

the Conference, and of those who have already spoken, on ground somewhat similar to those advanced by a professor who was to have the last word at a banquet given in honor of a revered ecclesiastic. The latter had delivered his message and seemed about to depart; but the professor, alarmed at his waning opportunity, modestly remonstrated, saying, "My dear doctor, please do not go; I shall not speak long, and my speech will not be very important, but will consist mostly of quotations from your writings."

Unlike the professor, however, I feel that my utterance has importance beyond itself because it is prompted by and built upon the material provided by representative educational leaders—material which has abiding value and is strong to advance the great cause with which this Conference is concerned. These discussions are too fresh and vivid in the memory of this audience to require that I should rehearse them in detail, even if time sufficed. In manifold form and by eloquent voices the story has been told of this determined campaign for education and stirring recitals have been delivered of needs remaining to be fulfilled and of progress already achieved—a progress attested by growth of public sentiment, by increased taxation for education, by schools erected, equipped and adorned. But while hindered from any length of detail, and omitting much that will be treasured in remembrance, I would instance first amongst the impressions which must be proclaimed the fact that this Conference possesses a very remarkable presiding officer, and that the audience owes him gratitude for strong and luminous presentation of the purposes of the Conference and for tactful felicity of speech and action. We recognize in Mr. Ogden that unusual mingling of practical force and idealism which is an essential requirement for leadership in the movement represented by this Conference and in the work undertaken by the Southern Education Board. Mr. Bush, who was the graceful spokesman of the city of Birmingham, in extending welcome to the Conference, declared that the people of this city, however active and absorbed they may be in the work of industrial development, are not merely busy with commerce and are not ambitious simply for phenomenal material prosperity. Surely, this declaration will receive our unanimous assent—and testimony to its truth is found not only in the abounding hospitality which the citizens of Birmingham have displayed in their entertainment of the Conference, but also in



the magnitude of the audiences which have attended its sessions and in the enthusiasm with which they have followed the various discussions. Abundant further evidence of the interest of this city in the work of mental and moral progress could undoubtedly be presented, if time permitted, in the history of its schools and its religious and philanthropic institutions; and I would utter for it the wish that its iron hills may abide for it as strong foundations of continuing prosperity, and that its wealth, in fulfilment of its highest ideals, may increasingly be transmuted into forces which will advance the causes of culture and religion.

We shall remember gratefully the fine eloquence of Bishop Galloway—thanking him for his interpretation of race questions from the Southern view, for his condemnation of lawlessness and his vindication of the majesty and impartiality of the law, for his refutation of the policy which proposes to limit the educational expenditure for negroes to the taxes paid by that race for that purpose; for his wise and just insistence upon primary and industrial education for the negro race and upon higher education for the equipment of negro teachers. In the presentation of reports from the field, as delivered by the superintendents of education in various states, there appears a striking realization of the usefulness of the Conference in bringing together independent leaders, with a view to mutual helpfulness and in order to unite them in concerted effort to stimulate and arouse public interest and activity in a great common cause; and these reports, as well as the addresses on especial subjects by appointed speakers, constitute a body of important facts and valuable thought concerning which the time suffices for me to name only a few particulars.

Mr. Hill, the State Superintendent of Education in Alabama, besides presenting a record of progress, contrasted the expenditure in support of officers of the law with that made for teachers, and cited the inferiority of school-houses to court-houses and jails in rural counties as further illustrating defective realization of the power and value of education. This suggestion of the more ample support which society gives to the agencies charged with the punishment of wrong-doing than to those concerned with the positive development of character applies elsewhere than to the community which the speaker represented. This disproportion, whenever it occurs, is just one of the signs that society in various directions

still interprets itself mainly as a system of police and protection rather than as a system which seeks the goal of unselfishness and co-operation, and that it does not yet see, even from the standpoint of protection, the paramount significance of the forces of religion and education which aim to lift men into righteousness and brotherhood and out of the lawlessness which requires punishment. The power and invincibility of the law, the inevitableness of punishment upon wrong, must necessarily be maintained through the agencies of judgment and justice until society reaches an ideal state, and the court-house and penitentiary must continue to have their function. But, however much society may be protected and to whatever extent its stability may be secured by these instrumentalities of punishment, it still remains true that a far vaster power in maintaining the social order is the progressive education of men into that state of conscience which voluntarily refrains and is self-restrained from wrong and injury to their fellow-beings; and it is this developing influence of education and religion which can alone lead mankind even beyond the avoidance of wrong and into the actual practice of social righteousness, and steadily lessen the need of methods and institutions of repression and penalty. Therefore, let not only the certainty and terror of the law be visibly embodied and adequately pressed upon the vision of the community, but let the beauty and inspiration and magnetic power of truth and goodness also receive their just visible embodiment; let the instrumentalities of education constitute an environment and impulse under which the youth of the land will be stirred to gratitude for the inheritance of wisdom and virtue which they have received from the great historic leaders, be fired with pure ambition to direct their own toil to the world's welfare, be lifted out of self-seeking into the enthusiasm of social service, be strengthened to labor and to pray for a social order where duties shall be more precious to men than rights, and yet where all rights shall be fulfilled under the prevailing law of love.

From Mr. Mynders, State Superintendent of Education in Tennessee, we learn that local taxation obtains in every county, save one, in that state, and Superintendent Whitfield reports that in Mississippi the tax for education amounts to one per cent. of all property. In South Carolina, according to Superintendent Martin, a movement to equip rural schools with libraries has proceeded with

gratifying success, and a tax for education has even been placed on dogs.

Mr. Aswell, who has recently been elected Superintendent of Education in Louisiana and will undoubtedly receive strong co-operation from a new state administration which will specially champion the public schools, brings encouraging account of educational progress in that state, with hopeful anticipations of large development in the near future; and his fellow-citizens are confident that his own able leadership will greatly contribute to the realization of these hopes. Dr. Alderman, president of Tulane University, New Orleans, whose humor is as unfailing as his oratory is splendid with beauty and electric force, brought a further message from Louisiana and reported that within the last two years appropriations to the public schools had increased by one million dollars. Dr. McIver's earnest plea for a worthier wage to the common-school worker, so that the ablest teachers may be drawn into and can afford to identify themselves with the system of public education, deserved a hearing far and wide; and Dr. Dabney's plea for the extension of greater educational opportunities to the mountaineer race was a stirring missionary utterance, basing the claims of that people upon their native powers and the contribution of noble manhood which they have already made to the life and history of the nation. Dr. Smith, of the University of North Carolina, made a memorable interpretation of the ages of greatest industrial development as being also the ages of greatest literary development; justifying the hopeful view that material progress need not degenerate into materialism, and that the law which has heretofore operated the twofold expression of national life in industrial and literary activities will still in the future bind together practical and intellectual expansion.

Dr. Page, in setting forth the economic value of practical training, presented not a new declaration of independence, but a declaration of the duties and responsibilities resting especially upon Southern youth, powerfully urging them to preserve the noble memories and true ideals of the past, yet so to equip themselves for the conditions and tasks of the present as to hasten the return to the South of its natural and full share in the leadership of the nation.

Necessarily limited by the time at my disposal to these few

gleanings from the rich material provided by the speakers named, I regret also to be hindered even from briefly recalling particulars of the admirable addresses delivered by Dr. Frissell, Dr. Henne-  
man, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Hill, Mr. Bowie and Dr. Brooks, while matters of interest in the impromptu speeches must likewise be omitted from my epitome. It remains for me to deal, however inadequately, with certain general impressions derived from this Conference, and with certain general principles of the movement which it represents and seeks to promote. No man can attend this gathering of leaders from many parts of this land, and witness their earnestness and hear their fair-minded discussions, without realizing that the Conference sets its face against sectionalism and is animated by a sincere spirit of fraternity and genuine national patriotism. Though coming from different sections, the members of this Conference are concerned with subjects which fundamentally are independent of geography—the subjects of manhood, philanthropy, truth and righteousness. Seeking to champion the realities of the moral order, they do not forget, and do not expect each other to forget, the traditions and convictions which they conscientiously cherish as men from the North or the South; yet they are united in a great common ideal and a great common devotion—a devotion to the truest welfare of an undivided nation, and an ideal which seeks a universal education of the children of this land in order to train them for worthy citizenship. The needs and rights of human children are the irresistible forces which draw and bind this body together—the children who are to constitute the nation in the future, the children who are to use for weal or woe the accumulated inheritance of the past, the children who are filled with mysterious possibilities and send forth their cry to know the way to life, the way to God, the way to godlike usefulness and employment of their being. If I read the Conference aright—and I think the interpretation is true—the North here comes with no mere critical spirit, but with the consciousness of a responsibility in common with the South to train the children of the nation for life and for loyalty, and the North here, in bringing co-operation, recognizes that the South has its peculiar problems and must itself be the leader in their solution. The volunteer spirit and the missionary enthusiasm of this body belong to a patriotism which runs deeper than that of the mere political organization—a patriotism

which is bent on human welfare and is busier with the ethics of citizenship than with partizan triumphs. It is not utopian to hope that the influence of this spirit and enthusiasm, as it touches various communities, and even though this Conference has no concern with political parties, may help these communities to measure their parties by more ultimate standards, and to demand policies increasingly more hospitable to the intellectual and moral interests of the people.

Certain watchwords, expressing the general aims and beliefs of the Conference, have rung out again and again as it has proceeded on its way through successive sessions—watchwords like “universal education,” “schools for all maintained by all,” “knowledge not for selfishness, but for duty and service,” “universal education as the bulwark of liberty and democracy”; and it is part of my duty to declare that these affirmations, in the thought of the leaders of this movement, do not mean any worship of mere brain culture apart from the development of manhood and character, nor any cheap and false championship of liberty as emancipation from dependence upon God and from service of God and man.

Education, as here interpreted, is not an intellectual indulgence for a chosen few, nor is it a mere mechanical equipment of the selfish individual to win his daily bread; but it is the leading forth of mind and conscience and will, it is the development of the being in order to the fulfilment of his relations with his fellow beings, it is the training of man as a social creature, it is preparation to keep the law of self-preservation in the sense of not becoming a burden upon society, but it is expansion beyond the life of self-preservation into the higher and saving life of service and co-operation.

When Christ bade men to “deny” themselves, when He declared that “whosoever will seek to save his life shall lose it,” He laid down a universal law for human life and revealed the universal standard by which men—if they would have life and have it more abundantly—must work in all the spheres of occupation. The secret of life is to die to self, to awake in the image of God’s love and be satisfied; satisfied, because in that awakening into the divine kind of life the whip and sting of selfishness is abolished; satisfied, because in that uplifting the individual may find rest in a sense of consecrated usefulness as an instrument in the hand of



God; satisfied, because in that enlarging the individual transcends the lesser self and wins the vaster self which by sympathy and helping work shares the wide life of the human world. Despite the competitions and combinations through which selfish individualism under many guises is abroad in the world to-day, the ancient truth that man is the keeper of his brother-man is in these times rolling into human hearts in a rising flood. The interdependence and solidarity of humanity are daily being demonstrated anew as the world grows smaller under encompassing hands of science, as the ends of the earth are coupled together, as human desires swell and mankind are packed yet closer and closer, either to trample each other down or to survive together in a kingdom of love; and to the Christian's faith and the idealist's dream the man of science is also adding his testimony that the law of brotherhood is the appointed law for man and will at last invincibly prevail.

The co-operative principle and habit is really the cement of society; competition develops individual powers; co-operation develops social relations. As society advances from barbarism to civilization, men compete less and co-operate more. The principle of competition is the law of the survival of the fittest; it is the law of plants and brutes and brutish men; but it is not the highest law of civilized society; another and higher principle, the principle of good-will, the principle of mutual help, begins at length to operate. The struggle for existence, as Mr. Fiske says, must go on in the lower regions of organic life; "but as a determining factor in the highest work of evolution, it will disappear" with the progress of the race.

Therefore, the movement which interprets education as the development of moral manhood and true social character, and seeks to promote the extension of that education universally to the children of this land, is in league with the divine logic of history. But these social virtues, this equipment for citizenship, the training of conscience, the establishment of morality, the spread of the "enthusiasm for humanity," require the foundation, the sanction, the inspiration of religion, for their realization; and disappointment and defeat await any dream for human good which would support civilization on any other basis than faith in God, and equally await any plan of education which may be framed by believers in God, and yet from which religious influence is omitted. If education

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be heralded as the chief need of man, the contention is mistaken unless education be taken to include the realization of man's dependence upon and responsibility to God, unless education be understood to embrace the saving process in which the Spirit of God is shed abroad in man's spiritual nature, teaching him to call God Father, and in the power and type of the Divine Son, Christ, to mount up into the image of God and the liberty that belongs to the sons of God. If education be viewed in that light, then no conflict obtains between education and salvation as to whether of them twain is the chief need of man; because they are thus brought into true correlation, and education is seen to be in part a saving process which leads to the knowledge and love of God, and salvation is seen to be in part an educational process which develops the faculties of man to their highest exercise and their divinely intended uses. Because man is a person and not merely a mind or a physical power, his end is neither simply to know abstract truth nor to handle a tool, but to hold relations with other persons—to live in love and obedience to the Infinite Divine Person who gave him being, by whose love he lives, whose minister to other men he is commissioned to be, and in the sharing of whose work rests the glory of his destiny; to live also with his fellow men in that love and mutual service in which they shall represent to each other the good-will of their Creator, their common Divine Father.

Citizenship in the republic of men must be builded upon citizenship in the Kingdom of God as the source of its laws and ideals; the fulfilment of the law of brotherhood between human beings is alone possible where men are knitted together under the authority of that fatherhood of God which reveals the rights and duties of men; the social conscience can alone find its support, its restraint, its consecration in Him who is the eternal Righteousness and Love.

In the spirit which pervades this Conference, in manifold utterances made from its platform during the course of its history, steadfast assertion has been made of these religious foundations of education and social duty; and among these utterances none is more striking than the following from Dr. Abbott:

"Nothing is education but that which out of a boy or a girl makes a man or a woman with wisdom to see the truth, with con-

science to enforce duty, with inspiration to service, with manhood within because God is within."

In a day when freedom of thought is taken by many to mean mental irresponsibility and critical indifferentism toward religion; in a day when with many education is so far sundered from sectarianism and so far centered on the study of material facts and forces that it is cut loose from its spiritual bearings; in a day, however, when the really dominant philosophy of education is essentially reverent and religious in tone, the general attitude of this Conference concerning the relation of education and morality to faith cannot but be widely helpful, and prompts the hope that its influence may encourage many teachers to fulfil their work in deepened religious spirit.

In seeking to serve the republic by promoting universal education this body, as I understand its discussions, gives as little sanction to false ideas of democracy as it does to selfish interpretations of education and irreligious or non-religious interpretations of the basis of morality. The democracy into whose citizenship the children of this land are to be trained is not like that which the "red fool fury of the Seine" endeavored to establish; not one in which equality is a ruthless stripping of many to gorge some; not one in which fraternity undergoes a ghastly travesty into indifference or hate; not one in which liberty means unhindered selfishness crushing out competitors. Amid the other meanings of a true democracy it is to be understood to signify not a social order in which individuals combine together merely for defense against each other, merely for such protection that each may be free to work out remorselessly his own selfish advantage, but it is an order where men combine for the distinct and positive purpose of mutual helpfulness and co-operation, so that the progress may be community progress. It signifies an order where freedom is not immunity from law and power, is not irresponsibility and self-aggrandizement, but where power prompts to duty, where freedom is such self-driven obedience that the need of external compulsion passes away, where men obey the king who sits on the throne of conscience, where the social fabric is indestructible because rooted in the free integrity of its citizens. It signifies an order where there is a deliberate effort to put into practice the law of loving one's neighbor as one's self; where equality means protection in the right

development of individuality, universal amenability to law and the universal obligation of social service; where the standard of value is not coin nor blood, but righteousness of character. However far this republic may still be from ideal conditions, the people of the United States have, on the whole, more nearly solved the problem of self-government than any other of the peoples of the earth. It is the destiny and call of the nation steadily to advance beyond the state of competitive and self-preserving individualism in politics and industry, steadily to apply in politics and industry the standards and principles of Christian ethics, and thus move onward to that liberty in which men shall transcend the impulse of wrong-doing or indifference to their fellows and be busy with the work of positive and productive good-will. Among the forces directed toward this true social advance this Conference, with its advocacy of the education of manhood for the obligations of citizenship, must be reckoned as having an eminent place and as achieving a constructive work.


The question of religious teaching in the common schools is one upon which I may be permitted a few words. Concerning the public-school system itself, it is axiomatic and incontestable that the community organization and purposes of the system are to be inviolably preserved. The schools, however much they may be aided by special local taxation, are primarily to be maintained as a co-operative movement by the whole people for common welfare, maintained so that the children of the nation may learn therein the lesson not only of independence but also of interdependence, not only of liberty but also of social responsibility and service; maintained so that the children of the nation, who are of many tongues and races and creeds, may be trained into the duties of a loyal citizenship and away from the factional subdivisions which tend to social disintegration. It is axiomatic and incontestable that freedom of conscience is to be inviolably guarded; that the public system of education must not be permitted to become a sectarian propaganda; that sectarian schools are not to be supported by any prorating of public educational funds on the theory that such institutions may be accepted as substitutes for common schools. It is to be admitted that, even while sectarian dogmatic teaching is barred from the public schools, still they are reached in many indirect ways by the influence of the Christian religion,

seeking the teacher's work, and if these individuals can and will use such higher education for their own good and that of society, let us wish them prosperous ascent up the steep of all knowledge that will make for excellence of life.

The assertion of the desirability of universal education is sometimes shadowed by a fear lest, if all men have knowledge, humble labor may become despised and discontentment grow rank in an overeducated world. The answer is that true education builds not merely knowledge but character, not pride but the spirit of social service; enables men to see that all work done in the real service of humanity possesses dignity; sheds a new light over all the fields of human energy; makes the toiler ready for his task, and sustains him with the just hope that he fills a worthy place in the universal plan wherein God makes man to be the servant of man.

In the progress of history each age makes its characteristic contributions, and in this time no characteristic is more positive and striking than the growth of the social spirit and principle as opposed to the individualistic standard in government, industry and religion. The whole and not the individual is coming more and more to be seen as the unit upon which all problems of society and life are to be solved.

The political question is settled, and democracy is the answer—however slow the movement amidst many peoples. Political economy has become ethical, seeking not merely to deal with the acquisition of wealth but with its just distribution with a view to the highest welfare of society. A renewed yet most ancient interpretation of Christianity seeks not simply the salvation of the individual but that the individual shall be a worker with the Saviour in the redemption of all mankind, and it seeks to extend this redemption not only to the souls but to the bodies and minds of them that sit in darkness and suffer want. It seeks to establish the kingdom of God amid the practical affairs of men as it is in heaven, to effect the social extension of the Gospel, to build up that social order where men shall live by the law of righteousness, in the bond of peace and love, and for the joy of the whole people of God. Amongst the beneficent forces which, despite the innumerable powers of evil that still make headway upon the earth, are uniting to uplift the hopes and lives of men to the vision of a human society ordered in good-will and rescued from waste, the church,



the home, the school, remain supreme. And in this land, and in all the lands through these three spheres, may the glory of enlightenment, obedience and love continually spread, drawing men steadily on to the great day when

The war-drums shall be heard no longer, and the battle-flags be  
furled,  
In the Parliament of man, the Confederation of the world.

The President of the Conference: We will now hear from Gen. Rufus N. Rhodes, of the city of Birmingham.

RUFUS N. RHODES.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference for Education in the South: I want to assure you all, both our visitors and our people, that the performance of the pleasant task assigned me will take only a moment or two.

The local executive committee have conferred upon me the great honor in the name of the citizens of Birmingham, Mr. President, of thanking you and your associates for having held a session of the Conference in this city. These meetings will be historical, for the expression of the speakers will prove to be inspirations to duty now and for many days to come. An immediate result will be a declaration by the fathers of this Jefferson County before June shall slip away, in favor of local taxation for educational purposes. And the example of Jefferson, the county having the largest population and paying the largest amount of taxes in Alabama, will encourage similar action from one end of the state to the other, and an era of intelligence and progress and happiness will dawn upon our people such as they have never known before. I wish to say, sir, that the people of Birmingham and of Alabama, and indeed of the South, are delighted to have among them their brethren of the North, and the East, and the West.

If we knew one another better, the problems of the North (and the North has problems) and the problems of the East and the West, and the problems of the South would be dissectionalized and become problems of America; problems that could be and would be solved easily and promptly by the united wisdom, influence and patriotism of the American people. If we knew one another better we would soon come to know the truth and justice, law and order,

personal purity and righteousness, of our people everywhere. If we knew one another better we would love one another better, and your burdens and our burdens would be lighter, and your joys and our joys would be greater, because we would march as a solid phalanx of American people to the highest, the greatest and holiest victory for the betterment of ourselves and for the uplifting of the nation.

Mr. President, these visits are delightful, fruitful of benefit to all of us. Words cannot express how the good people of our community have enjoyed the presence of you and your friends and associates here. We trust that you in some small part have enjoyed your stay in Alabama, and in Birmingham, as we have. I know our people pray for your safe return to your homes. We want you to come again whenever you can, collectively or individually. A genuine cordial Southern welcome always awaits you.

The President of the Conference: My last official act concerns the notice given a little while ago. I said that at the close of this meeting the ushers would stand at the door and receive such cards as may be given to them.

And now Dr. Phillips, Gen. Rhodes and members of the committee that has so splendidly organized this Conference, ladies and gentlemen of Birmingham, time does not permit any extended reply to the kind words we have just heard. There are pilgrims here who must seek their one-room cabins, and although they do not go away sad, they must within a comparatively few minutes, certainly within much less than an hour, move away from this place which in these few days has been the happy home of not only the party that I happen to represent, but of a great many more. There are no words that can express our thanks for your graceful and delightful hospitality. We are going away from here very much instructed by what we have heard and seen, but we are going away from here with something far richer than that, with hearts filled with gratitude, with sympathies that have been broadened; and we will be the better for it, each man and each woman through all the future. I am very sure that from this Conference, as from others, there will be growing up personal friendships—ties that shall always bind to the city of Birmingham the many people from the various places represented in this company.

As soon as we receive the benediction from Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, the Seventh Conference for Education in the South will have come to its end.

The benediction was then pronounced by the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., of Massachusetts, and the Seventh Conference for Education in the South was declared adjourned.

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NOTICE.

THE EIGHTH CONFERENCE FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH WILL MEET IN THE CITY OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, APRIL 26 TO APRIL 28, 1905.

THE CONFERENCE MEETS IN COLUMBIA BY INVITATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF COLUMBIA, THE MAYOR, THE CITY COUNCIL, AND THE COLUMBIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.









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